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HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

OF THE
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

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WITH this issue the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE enters upon its third year of publication. The editors are grateful for words of encouragement received from time to time. One such has come to hand from the Librarian of one of the most important Libraries in the United States who expresses the opinion that the Magazine has steadily improved with every issue. Such an expression of opinion coming from an expert is heartening. We have still far to go to make the Magazine self-supporting, but new subscriptions for 1934 are encouraging.

THE days and months ahead are full of historical significance. First comes the General Convention which will meet for the second time in its history in New Jersey, the last time being in Trenton in 1801. Then follows the celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the consecration of Samuel Seabury as first Bishop of this Church. Arrangements are being made for a great service of thanksgiving for the gift of the Episcopate to America which will be held at Atlantic City during the General Convention. On the anniversary day, November 14th, a service will be held in Connecticut at which it is hoped the present Bishop of Aberdeen will be the preacher. In this connection it is likely that the Yale University Library will arrange an exhibit of Seabury letters and papers. The arrangements are being made by the Joint Commission appointed by the last General Convention and of which the Presiding Bishop is chairman.

THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE DIOCESE OF MARYLAND

By Arthur B. Kinsolving

THERE are two events in the Anglican history of Maryland, about one of which a great deal has been written, which call for a brief statement at the outset. In 1629 Captain William Claiborne, under the authority of the Virginia Colony, established on Kent Island a Virginia plantation made up of members of the Church of England, about 100 in number. In 1631 he brought from Hampton, Va., the Reverend Richard James, a clergyman of the Church of England, who conducted there in the virgin forest the first Christian services held within the territory of what is now Maryland. This was nearly three years before the arrival of the Ark and Dove at St. Mary's, with a mixed company of 200 souls. Cecilius Calvert, second Lord Baltimore, to whom on June 20, 1632, King Charles I gave the charter promised to his father, was an able, far-sighted nobleman, endowed with rare good sense. His brother, Leonard Calvert, whom he put in charge of the expedition, as governor of the Province, arrived at St. Mary's on the Feast of the Annunciation, March 25, 1634. The majority of those who came with Leonard Calvert were members of the Anglican Communion, though the leaders were Roman Catholics, and brought with them two Roman priests. McMahon says, "The system of toleration was coeval with the Colony itself; and sprang from the liberal and sagacious views of the first Proprietary." In his instructions Cecilius Calvert clearly realized that it was essential to the success of his colony, in an age of fierce religious dissension, that no offense be given to others not of the Papal faith. He said, "My aim shall be public unity." Indeed, it is likely that at first Anglican lay-readers and clergy from Virginia used the same church as the Roman Catholics at St. Mary's, and we know that under the law at the time, a church could only be "dedicated and consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of the Kingdom of England."

When the famous Maryland Act of Religious Toleration was passed in 1649 it was granted by a legislature in which there was no Roman Catholic ascendancy. King Charles had been beheaded, and Cromwell had established the Commonwealth, so the Maryland Pro-

prietary, exercising good statesmanship, saw to it that the complexion of the Council was changed to give a majority to Anglicans and Protestants, and proceeded further to appoint William Stone, a Protestant, as Governor of the Colony. This is the setting of the famous Toleration Act, which when published in England caused so many men of character and wealth to be attracted to this delightful country of the New World, the first of the American colonies to establish religious liberty. Then after various vicissitudes which we cannot follow here, on the 12th of March, 1691, under William and Mary, the rule of the Calverts was terminated, and not restored until 1715. Lionel Copley, Esquire, was appointed Governor of Maryland, and proceeded to establish the Church of England by law, dividing the Province into parishes. The charters of most of the parishes of Maryland were given under an act of the year 1692, entitled "An act for the service of Almighty God and the Establishment of the Protestant religion within this province," and it was directed that "the Book of Common Prayer as then established be read each Sunday and Holy Day, and the Blessed Sacrament administered according to the rites of the Church of England."

It has been rightly said that the Episcopal Church was not present in America as an organized body until after the Revolutionary War. For 175 years previous to that era under the name Church of England, it was a church without a visible head. There were no confirmations. Ordinations to the sacred ministry were only got by twice sailing the north Atlantic, the candidate being exposed to small-pox and other contagious diseases, and to indefinite delays. The English colonists had come hither, especially to the southern colonies, with a definite Church tradition. There were many saintly priests who came with them, many high-minded, well-educated and consecrated men who served the Colonial Church in Maryland and elsewhere with fidelity and perseverance, but from time to time during the Colonial period the morals of many of the clergy were very lax. Both clergy and lay people, through utter lack of any effective discipline or oversight, fell into a low estate, and the earnest and spiritual men were not infrequently starved out. The Proprietary of the colony selected a clergyman in England, the Bishop of London licensed him, the Governor inducted him, but if he went wrong, there was no power to punish him. "The Bishop of London could neither give nor take away the meanest living in the province." The English bishops found quite enough to do at home to occupy their time, and as officers of a State Church and members of the House of Lords, they were either indifferent to the Colonial Church or were restrained by political expediency from giving it the episcopate.

The royal governors were for many purposes the visible heads of the Church, simply because the Church was looked upon as a department of state. In many respects the earnest work of the two Commissaries, Dr. Blair in Virginia and Dr. Bray in Maryland, were bright spots against a sombre background. Dr. Bray came to Maryland as the representative of Dr. Compton, Bishop of London, "to exercise discipline, to reform manners, to settle disputes, to preserve order, to build up the Church." This was in the year 1700. In 1701 Dr. Bray organized the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, or the Venerable Society. It worked here until 1785, having aided 333 missionaries. Naturally, when the Revolution broke out, the majority of the Maryland clergy were Englishmen. Yet two-thirds of the signers of the Declaration of Independence were Churchmen.

At his coming Dr. Bray found that the Church of England contained nominally about eighty per cent of the population. The other twenty per cent embraced the Roman Catholics, Baptists, Quakers, a few Huguenots and German Lutherans. There is no time to dwell upon the Commissary's work, but in spite of it, things in the Church in the following years seemed often to go from bad to worse. In 1714 it is said that whole families lived and died without baptism, and because of the worldliness of the Anglican clergy and the zeal of other religious bodies, these latter grew apace. Still in 1775 there were in Maryland 44 parishes, 20 on the Eastern and 24 on the Western Shore, and each had an incumbent, yet by no means were all worthy. There was a long and costly struggle with the State over their stipends, and many lived as easy-going country gentlemen, often signally neglectful of their spiritual cures.

In the Revolutionary struggles about two-thirds of the clergy were loyalists of the British Crown, and suffered every conceivable penalty therefor—the burning of their houses, duckings in millponds, and exile bereft of all their possessions. Naturally, it required years after the close of the Revolution for the Church to recover from this handicap. The case of the Reverend Jonathan Boucher, one of the finest priests in the colony, formerly a neighbor and friend of Washington, who left America for conscience sake, is only one among hundreds.

As to the episcopate; had not Archbishop Laud lost his head by the triumph of the Puritans, a bishop would have been sent to New England by 1640. American voices pleading for a bishop were raised year after year, until the type of the occupants of bishoprics in England made the colonists more doubtful as to their value. The fundamental

difficulty was the entanglement of Church and State in the mother land, which in many cases choked the Church's spiritual life.

In the days we are considering "the Church establishment was part and parcel of English law." That was the trouble. John Adams, who co-operated finely for a non-Churchman in connection with the securing of the episcopate after the Revolution, had once observed: "If Parliament can tax us, they can establish the Church of England with all its creeds, articles, tests, ceremonies and tithes, and prohibit all other churches as conventicles and schism-shops."

But after the success of the Revolution in 1783 a new era begins. About a year before the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, that is, on the 9th of November, 1780, Maryland took the first step toward the completion of her Church organization. It was at Chestertown on the Eastern Shore. There were but three clergymen present, the Reverend Dr. William Smith, the Reverend James Jones Wilmer, and the Reverend Samuel Keene. Besides the three clergy, there were twenty-four lay delegates from five Eastern Shore parishes. The country was still at war; money was scarce; most of the prominent men were in the field, and many had lost their lives. At this convention the Reverend James Jones Wilmer, of Kent County, moved as follows: "Be it resolved that the Church formerly known in the Province as the Church of England should now be called the Protestant Episcopal Church."

In 1783 the Legislature of Maryland dared to take up the subject of organizing the Episcopal Church, and a proposal was made to appoint ordainers to the ministry by a State Legislature composed of many religious bodies. Mainly through efforts led by the Reverend Samuel Keene this project was defeated.

A week after this a number of Episcopal clergy found themselves together at the first annual commencement of Washington College, of which George Washington was a trustee, and present at this commencement. So they held a convention and discussed means for organizing the Church and securing a succession of the ministry. They adjourned to meet at Annapolis on August 13, and at this convention a committee was appointed "to prepare the draft of an act or charter of incorporation to enable the Episcopal Church of this state as a body corporate to hold goods, lands, etc." This committee consisted of the Reverends William Smith, John Gordon and Samuel Keene for the Eastern Shore, and William West, Thomas John Claggett and Thomas Gates of the Western Shore. At the same convention a document was drawn up called the "Bill of Rights," or the "Declaration of certain fundamental rights and liberties," in which the clergy claimed "the undoubted right of the Protestant Episcopal Church

with other Christian churches under the American Revolution to compleat and preserve herself as an entire Church," and expressed their belief "that there be these three orders of ministers in Christ's Church, Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and that an episcopal ordination and commission are necessary to the valid administration of the sacraments, and the due exercise of the ministerial functions in the said Church." As to the liturgy, they felt the necessity of adapting it to the new conditions, if only it be done "without any other or farther departure from the venerable order and beautiful forms of worship of the Church from whence we sprung than may be found expedient in the change from a daughter to a sister Church." It was at this convention that the name Protestant Episcopal was first officially used.

Then the Reverend Dr. William Smith was elected Bishop of Maryland. He was a native of Scotland, provost of the College of Philadelphia, and the founder of Washington College. At the time he was easily the most able, learned and distinguished clergyman in the state. He had received a doctorate from Oxford, Aberdeen and Trinity College, Dublin, was a man of wide reading, and an able executive. But it was said that while he was generous, he was not always prudent, and that in controversy the old Adam often got the better of the young Melancthon. His election was not confirmed by General Convention, partly, it would appear, from a certain lofty indifference as to the impression he made upon others; yet his disappointment never soured him. He was a strong co-laborer with Bishops White, Claggett, and others, to the end, and indeed preached Bishop Claggett's consecration sermon.

At a convention held at Annapolis on the 31st of May, 1792, with 23 clergymen and 27 lay delegates present, the Reverend Thomas John Claggett was unanimously chosen to be the first Bishop of Maryland. He was first chosen by the clergy, and then with one voice approved by the laity. Dr. Claggett was a man of genial disposition, of rather retiring nature, and often frail physical health, but he was a strong force in the organization of the Church in Maryland, and a level-headed and devoted bishop. His character and thoughtful convictions concerning the Church, and his wisdom in dealing with men, made him a key man of marked influence in the history of his own and subsequent times. It is thought that he himself suggested bringing together in his own consecration the English and Scottish lines, represented respectively by Seabury of Connecticut, White of Pennsylvania, Provoost of New York, and Madison of Virginia, all of whom had received their episcopal orders abroad. There had been a good deal of friction between Bishops Seabury and Provoost over the

Scottish consecration of the former. The judicious action of that wise and good man, Bishop White, seconded by Bishop Claggett, set at rest all differences forever by the fact that in Bishop Claggett, both lines of succession were united, so that the two strains are found in every succeeding American Bishop. It should be noted that by a unanimous vote of the Maryland Convention all the bishops in America were requested to join in the consecration of their diocesan. On September 12, 1792, Dr. Claggett was consecrated in Trinity Church, N. Y., at the General Convention of that year.

The newly-consecrated bishop returned to "Croom," his family estate in Prince George's County, became rector of St. Paul's Parish there, and six months later began his episcopal visitations in All Saint's, Frederick. He served the diocese with faithfulness and great wisdom for twenty-four years. He never received from the Convention a dollar of salary, and far less than his actual expenses of travel. In his later years Bishop Claggett suffered almost continuously from a painful form of rheumatism, and the Diocese suffered in consequence. It was during these years that the uncalled for schism which found an echo in the Cummins movement many years afterwards had its origin, being led by the Reverend George Dashiell.

Bishop Claggett had a deep conviction of the sacred dignity of his office, as well as of its duties; and by his whole manner of life commended the Church to all with whom he came in contact. He entered the life eternal in August, 1816, revered and beloved by all who knew him. As the first bishop consecrated on American soil, the General Convention of 1898, meeting in the City of Washington, determined that the dust of Bishop Claggett and his wife should rest on the site of the Cathedral which now crowns Mount St. Alban, and that rare and knightly spirit, Bishop Henry Yates Satterlee, conducted the office of reinterment beneath the chancel of Bethlehem Chapel.

When Bishop Claggett grew too infirm to fulfill his office, it was decided at the Convention of 1812 to elect a suffragan. On account of opposition to the Reverend Dr. James Kemp on the ground of his High Churchmanship, the election was postponed for two years, and only accomplished on September 1, 1814. Then a determined effort was made on partisan grounds to prevent his consecration, and the matter was referred to Bishops White, Hobart and Moore, who gave a considered verdict affirming the validity of the election. Bishop Kemp was consecrated a titular suffragan, and was the first suffragan bishop consecrated in this country.

James Kemp was born in Aberdeenshire, Scotland, in 1764, graduated in 1786 from Marischal College, Aberdeen; the following year came as a tutor to a family in Dorchester County, Maryland.

He had been reared a Presbyterian, but after a period of study entered the Episcopal Church, and was ordained deacon and priest by Bishop White. For about twenty years he was rector of Great Choptank Parish, and in 1813 succeeded the Reverend Dr. Bend as rector of St. Paul's, Baltimore, a position which he held until his death. After his consecration he was assigned the care of the churches on the Eastern Shore. He was much impressed by the learning and piety of most of the Eastern Shore clergy, and spoke of the laity as containing many men of great personal worth, stability and piety. Bishop Kemp was a convinced and positive Churchman, a faithful and zealous teacher, and by his abundant labors greatly strengthened the Church in Maryland during difficult times. He dealt firmly with the troublesome Dashiell schism, the man who sought to establish what he called the Evangelical Episcopal Church. On the death of Bishop Claggett in May, 1816, Bishop Kemp succeeded to the full duties of the episcopal office. In the year 1827 he was killed by the overturning of a stage-coach between Philadelphia and Baltimore.

It was during the episcopate of Bishop Kemp that a widespread movement began looking to the establishment of seminaries for the education of clergy.

Two South Carolinians, the Reverend Mr. Gadsden, in 1814, and Bishop Dehon, in 1817, had moved in General Convention for the establishment of a General Theological Seminary. Bishops White and Hobart joined in an appeal for the money to found it, and in 1819 Mr. Clement C. Moore of New York gave 60 city lots for "the buildings of the theological school" proposed. It was opened May 1, 1819, moved to New Haven, then brought back to New York in February, 1822. Maryland had been invited to join the Alexandria Seminary, but declined, though a considerable number of her clergy were in sympathy with its evangelical spirit, and many were afterwards educated there. When it was proposed to throw the influence of the Diocese of Maryland to the General Seminary, a group of clergy countered by a resolution to the effect that it was expedient to form a local theological seminary for Maryland candidates. Bishop Kemp was not quite clear or consistent in his attitude, though at heart he felt, to use his own words, that a local seminary in Maryland independent of the general school of the Church at large "counteracted the authority of the Church." An almost equal number of the clergy of Maryland have been educated in these two schools.

In 1830, after two conventions had failed to elect, when Drs. William E. Wyatt and John Johns were the candidates of the High and Low Church parties respectively, the Reverend William Murray Stone, a native of Salisbury, then in Somerset Co., Maryland, was

chosen. Bishop Stone was a godly, loving and dutiful man, never very strong in health nor intellectually gifted, but absolutely consecrated. He served the Diocese a little less than eight years, and was called to rest in 1838. Again there was unseemly partisanship and several abortive efforts to fill the vacant episcopate. The Rt. Rev. Jackson Kemper, Bishop of the Northwest, was elected in 1839, but declined. And with the election of Bishop Whittingham in 1840 a new era began.

Before taking up the Whittingham era, let us have a brief glance at a few, at least, of the many outstanding clergy of the Diocese during this earlier period. We have spoken already of the Reverend Dr. William Smith, and alluded to Dr. Samuel Keene, the intrepid defender of the Church in the Civil Assembly of Maryland. One of the most striking figures among them was the Reverend Mason L. Weems. Mr. Weems was one of the most indefatigable writers and travelers of his day. Besides pamphlets, he wrote lives of Washington, Franklin, Penn and Francis Marion, and in his chaise or on horseback traveled from New York to Georgia. Though a somewhat romantic historian, he did as much as any other man of his day for the education of the clergy. He died in 1825. From 1820 to 1827 the Reverend William H. Wilmer, a native of Kent County, was president of the House of Deputies, and an able writer and editor. Dr. William E. Wyatt, the distinguished rector of St. Paul's, Baltimore, was president of the House of Deputies for thirty years, and though repeatedly voted for for the office of bishop, as a convinced, courteous and fair-minded High Churchman, was defeated on partisan grounds.

One of the most useful of all the clerical importations of the diocese was the Reverend Ethan Allen. He was born in Massachusetts, brought up a Congregationalist, was ordained by Bishop Kemp in 1819, left Maryland for seventeen years to serve in Ohio, and returned in 1847. While serving two small parishes, St. John's, Worthington Valley, and St. Thomas', Homestead, Mr. Allen wrote a history of St. Anne's, Annapolis, of St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore, and a history of the Diocese of Maryland, besides a large number of biographies of Maryland clergy. He died in the year 1879.

The Reverend William Duke, one of the most devout of the early Evangelicals, was a Methodist minister brought into the Church by Bishop Claggett, served a number of parishes, was a Professor in St. John's College, Annapolis, principal of Charlotte Hall School, and was chosen by Bishop Claggett to plant the Church in Kentucky. He died at eighty-six.

The Reverend William Levington, the founder of St. James' First African Church here, was ordained priest in Philadelphia by

Bishop William White in 1824. Absalom Jones was the first negro priest ordained, and Levington the third. The latter decided to come from Philadelphia to Baltimore to preach to his people bond and free, and started service in an upper room on Park and Marion Streets. Their first church building dates from 1827, St. Paul's, St. Peter's, Christ Church and Trinity being the only churches to antedate St. James. The rectors of St. Paul's and St. Peter's, Drs. Wyatt and Henshaw, took a deep interest in St. James, giving it material financial aid. Mr. Levington died in May, 1836, and not long afterwards the Reverend Joshua Peterkin served devotedly as rector for several years. The Chapel of St. Mary the Virgin, since 1873 under Mt. Calvary Church, is a child of St. James'. From 1873 to 1888 St. James' was ministered to by the assistants of St. Paul's, notably the Reverends Isaac Lea Nicholson and George B. Johnson. It is now under the able and devoted rectorship of the Reverend Dr. George F. Bragg, who became rector in 1891. In its new home in the spacious buildings formerly occupied by the Church of the Ascension, St. James' is one of the largest and most influential congregations of negroes in the South.

Among the Maryland rectors of this period who became bishops of other dioceses were Drs. Henshaw and Charles P. McIlvaine, and at a later time Dr. T. B. Lyman, Dr. A. C. Coxe, Dr. Kerfoot, and the wise and honored Atkinson of North Carolina.

Bishop Claggett during his episcopate ordained 37 men for this diocese, Bishop Kemp 24, Bishop Stone 23, and Bishop Whittingham more than 100. Between 1783 and 1860, 221 men had been ordained to the priesthood from our own soil, while 248 had come to the Diocese from other jurisdictions.

Our story now brings us to the episcopate of William Rollinson Whittingham, one of the most significant in the history of the American Church. He was elected in May, 1840, having been recommended by a conference committee headed by Dr. Henshaw, and his nomination warmly seconded by Dr. Johns, the leading candidate of the opposite school, and he was then chosen by an almost unanimous vote. Dr. Whittingham was of English stock on both sides, was tall, spare, with classic features and brilliant eyes. He entered the General Seminary at seventeen, and graduated at twenty, having been prepared for it by a very gifted mother in Latin, Greek and Hebrew. He belonged to the school of John Henry Hobart, Bishop of New York, a close friend, was a specialist in Church education, and at twenty-two was editor of a series of Church classics having a wide circulation. As a bishop he was instinct with energy, was a great preacher, and a clear and cogent teacher. When his successor, Dr. Pinkney, visited

Oxford in 1869, and heard the famous Bishop Samuel Wilberforce, he wrote that the Bishop of Oxford's sermon as a work of art was wonderful, but that the Bishop of Maryland in his power to sift the conscience was his superior. "On the whole," he writes, "I am of opinion that Bishop Whittingham in his prime was one of the strongest preachers in the world."

Bishop Whittingham started out on the long, difficult journeys necessary to reach Maryland's remote country parishes with the utmost zeal. His impression of Maryland hospitality in 1840 is charming. "There is no fuss, no parade, no apologies, no departure from the common course of things on the arrival of guests. A larger table, more food, and another log on the fire in the best room is all the change made, and in half an hour I defy anyone to feel strange among them." It was often two in a bed and four in a room, and journeys were bitter and difficult from exposure, but heroically he met his appointments. During the first fifteen years of his episcopate he consecrated 70 churches. To the black servants he was always a solicitous and tender father. He was often hurt by the parsimonious giving of his well-to-do people, and his own generous liberality out of a meagre salary of \$2,500 a year presented a sharp contrast. He had a special care for Church instruction and the training of the young. His special protegee was St. James' College, where he placed Dr. Kerfoot, afterwards Bishop of Pittsburgh. He also fostered Hannah More, though Bishop Pinkney was the special friend of this institution. His august sense of the dignity and responsibility of his divine office never left him. Frequently he served in much weakness of body. At times he lost his voice so completely that he could neither preside at the Convention nor read his address. Yet such was his will-power, his zeal and his confident dependence upon God, that his long episcopate was one of the most fruitful in the annals of the Episcopal Church in America. His greater sorrows came from his habit of making logical, rigid decisions which sometimes did not make allowance for all the human elements in the case. Up to the outbreak of the Civil War he had a united diocese, but as he looked upon that war on the part of the South as a sinful rebellion, naturally the large number of honest-hearted and chivalrous Southern men in Maryland, including the man who was chosen to be his assistant and successor, resented the imputation. The Church in Maryland is under deep obligation to the late Dr. William Francis Brand for a just and scholarly life of Bishop Whittingham, in two volumes, published in London in 1883. The Bishop died October 17, 1879, at the age of 74 in the fortieth year of his episcopate, was buried from St. Mark's Church, Orange, N. J.,

and the inscription upon the enduring granite cross over his grave is this:

"I have fought the good fight, I have kept the Faith."

"When I shall awake after Thy likeness I shall be satisfied."

Bishop Whittingham after serving for thirty years the large jurisdiction, urban and rural, which included the present Diocese of Washington, was a broken-down man, and asked for an assistant on the ground of permanent physical disability. At a convention held in Baltimore on May 26, 1870, with a unanimity which had scarcely before been known in Maryland Episcopal elections, the Reverend Dr. William Pinkney, rector of the Church of the Ascension, Washington, D. C., was elected assistant bishop. Bishop Whittingham referred to him as "his most willing and indefatigable assistant," and said, "Maryland has chosen her most honored son, native to her soil." Bishop Pinkney was born in Annapolis, April 17, 1810, and was graduated from Princeton. In early life he was a Methodist, and indeed a licensed preacher in that body. But becoming by study and conviction a Churchman, he was ordained priest at the age of twenty-six by Bishop Stone.

Bishop Pinkney was a man of rare personal and social gifts, of fine culture, a poet of real merit, a writer of marked ability, a powerful and moving preacher, and a loving pastor. He was a man of strong, clear and firm convictions, of fine judgment, and had an unusual capacity to make and hold his friends. As an evidence of his readiness for pastoral sacrifice, General Walter Jones, the grandfather of Mr. Joseph Packard, relates this incident. "He sat one day beside the deathbed of a black servant who was breathing her last of smallpox. The woman turned to him and said, 'If you hold my hand, Mr. Pinkney, I can die easier.' For a moment he hesitated, but only for a moment, and then took her hand and held it till she breathed her last." He was consecrated in the Church of the Epiphany, Washington, October 6, 1870, being presented by Bishops Atkinson of North Carolina and John Johns of Virginia. The preacher was Bishop Kerfoot.

Bishop Whittingham at first assigned Bishop Pinkney the Western Shore of Maryland as his jurisdiction, while he himself purposed to move from Baltimore to Washington to have exclusive oversight there. From this arrangement Bishop Pinkney felt obliged to dissent. He had been elected by the whole diocese, by reason of the permanent physical infirmity of the Bishop, and every part of the Diocese, Washington included, needed his assistance. The matter

was taken up by the Standing Committee, and this view prevailed. Though Bishop Pinkney was sixty years of age when consecrated, and had been a strong leader for many years, his bearing toward his chief was filial and courteous. The growth of the Diocese during the thirteen years of his period of service was quite remarkable. Bishop Whittingham at times was able to meet many engagements, and his counsel was more and more sought by the General Church on perplexing problems, especially concerning ritual. But quite often the senior Bishop was unable even to preside at the convention, and the heavier burdens of episcopal duty were carried by the Assistant Bishop.

The following items, made up by Mr. Joseph Packard, indicate the strengthening of the Diocese from 1870 up to 1883; the clergy in 1870 numbered 139; in 1883, 168. Communicants increased from 12,743 to 22,805; contributions from \$173,000 to \$312,000.

Among the Maryland clergy of that day there is only time to mention a few men whose names were household words at the time: Drs. Leeds, Rankin, A. P. Stryker, Addison, Hutton, Julius Grammer, Cleland K. Nelson, Meyer Lewin, one of the wisest leaders of the Diocese; Dr. Dalrymple, distinguished educator, and for years secretary of the Maryland Convention; Drs. A. M. Randolph and T. U. Dudley, both of whom became bishops of rare preaching gifts, the venerable and beloved Dr. Leakin, Dr. Alexander Crummell, a scholarly negro priest, and Dr. Paret. Among the laity we may mention that great Churchman, Hugh Davey Evans, J. I. Donaldson, Judge Chambers, and the Honorable F. W. Brune; and among the younger men of the highest gifts of intellect, Bernard Carter, Judge James Alfred Pierce and Joseph Packard. Bishop Pinkney's lifelong friend and benefactor, and the liberal contributor to the Church of the Ascension, Washington, built under the ministry of Dr. Pinkney, was the philanthropist, Mr. William W. Corcoran, who helped to establish the school for girls in the parish of Rock Creek in '73, and founded the Louise Home in Washington, and whose name is perpetuated by the Corcoran Gallery.

A good deal of the time and strength of Bishop Whittingham and Bishop Pinkney was given to an effort to check certain ritual practices which were then new and unfamiliar, deriving from the second phase of the Oxford movement. In our own day it almost causes a smile to learn from the history how serious was the opposition of wise and able leaders to some of the following uses: candles on the altar, wafers for bread, the mixed chalice, prayers for the dead, voluntary private confession and priestly absolution, reservation for the sick. Bishop Whittingham seems to have had somewhat mixed feelings about re-

ligious orders, but was fatherly and kind towards individuals who had a vocation thereto. Bishop Pinkney, an Evangelical High Churchman of that period, was still more opposed to the teachings and practices above referred to and said that "it seemed to him that the object of certain teachers was to bring back the doctrine of the mass." Yet, Dr. O. Hutton, his biographer, says: "He was no partisan. Broad in his sympathies, Catholic in his views and tenaciously adhering to the doctrinal standards and liturgical requirements of the Church, he was a lover of peace."

Bishop Pinkney died at Cockeysville on the morning of July 4, 1883, in his 73rd year. Falling with his armor on, after having preached gloriously on the night before his death from the text, "But ye are come to Mt. Zion, etc.," in the morning there was a rift in the cloud which separates earth and heaven, and he entered into the joy of his Lord.

In October, 1884, after protracted balloting lasting for three days, William Paret, rector of the Church of the Epiphany, Washington, was elected sixth Bishop of Maryland, and was consecrated January 8, 1885, in his parish church, Bishop Lyman preaching the sermon. The Diocese had been without a head for nearly two years, and convention after convention had failed to elect. The old strife of parties had been bitterly revived to the great injury of the Church's work.

Bishop Paret was born and reared in New York City. His grandfather was a Frenchman and his mother, Hester Levi, a Jewess. He went to Hobart College, graduating in 1849; taught school for a while, one of his pupils being Andrew D. White, who was minister to Russia, ambassador to Germany, and president of Cornell University. Mr. Paret studied for holy orders under Bishop DeLancey. With a logical and forceful mind, rare practical sense, and almost limitless energy, he soon came to the front in the Church's ministry, and succeeded to the rectorship of the Church of the Epiphany, Washington City. He worked the Diocese very much as he had worked his parish. In 1885 there were reported 22,000 communicants; in 1894 nearly 30,000.

At this time he turned to some plan for a second division of the Diocese, Easton having been set apart in 1868. Bishop Paret sought the judgment and wish of the Diocese itself, and after some delay, by an almost unanimous vote, the division was agreed upon. This was in the year 1895. Largely on account of the Cathedral work, as he himself did not feel that he had the special qualities for a cathedral builder, he chose the Diocese of Maryland, while Dr. Henry Yates Satterlee became the first Bishop of Washington. Bishop Paret said

of himself, "I have not been a builder of cathedrals, but only a beginner in two cases. In both I did not seek the work, but it sought me." A generous woman in Washington, Mrs. Phoebe Hearst, gave \$175,000 for a Cathedral School for girls in that Diocese. In Maryland the first impulse toward a cathedral was given by the Reverend Dr. Edwin B. Niver, then rector of Christ Church, Baltimore, who for some years was the leading spirit in this work. Bishop Paret and Dr. Niver chose the present site of the Maryland Cathedral, and the latter, acting under the authority of the Bishop, during his absence in Europe, took the lead in interesting a group of Baltimore laymen who provided the purchase money, about \$50,000, for the ground.

Bishop Paret at his coming found the splendid Stinnecke library, containing the Whittingham collection, adjacent to the episcopal residence on Madison Avenue, now known as the Maryland Diocesan Library, in which he took great interest, and where he established a school for clergy, and maintained it for many years. Among other accomplishments of his episcopate of twenty-four years were these: securing a higher standard for the support of the clergy; opening the silent churches; seeking with strong purpose to terminate the bitter rivalries between High Churchmen and Low Churchmen.

Bishop Paret was a man of strong convictions, and sometimes of rather strong prejudices, but they were mitigated by a warm heart and high purpose. He never preached an inferior sermon, and he never shirked a duty. In the General Convention he was always listened to with deep respect. His long episcopate ministered in a marked way to the strengthening of this diocese. In the spring of 1909, being then in his 83rd year, he felt that the interest of the Church called for the election of a coadjutor. This was accomplished in the autumn of the same year by the election of Bishop Murray. Feeling that the time had come to lay down his task of active service, he sailed for a year's absence in Europe in October, 1909, returned the latter part of September the following year, and died at his home on Madison Avenue on January 15, 1911.

At a special convention held in October, 1908, the Reverend Arthur S. Lloyd, D. D., had been elected Coadjutor Bishop of Maryland, but declined his election. Dr. John Gardner Murray, rector of St. Michael and All Angels', was almost unanimously chosen Coadjutor on May 26, 1909.

Bishop Murray was born of sturdy Scotch stock in Lonaconing, western Maryland, August 31, 1857. Like Bishop Pinkney, he was reared under Methodist influences, studied at Wyoming Seminary in Pennsylvania, Drew Seminary, New Jersey, and obtained a license as a local preacher in that body. The death of his father and accom-

panying responsibilities drew him back into secular life for a decade in the west and south. In 1886 he was confirmed in Alabama, and was licensed as a lay reader. At the age of thirty-five, in the year 1892, he was ordained deacon by Assistant Bishop H. M. Jackson, and later priest by Bishop Richard Hooker Wilmer, and began at once a ministry to eight congregations on different Alabama plantations. He served successively as rector of the Church of the Advent, Birmingham, Ala., and St. Michael and All Angels', Baltimore, of which he took charge in 1903. He declined elections to the bishoprics of Mississippi and Kentucky. Dr. Murray was consecrated on the Feast of St. Michael and All Angels, 1909. For the next fifteen years he served a really notable episcopate in this diocese. As a man he was friendly, broad in his sympathies, approachable, and a born leader of men. He had a passion for work and service, had his hand upon every part of the machinery of the Diocese, and shirked no task because of its difficulty. He knew and loved all of his clergy, whether high, low or broad, and knew the principal laymen of Maryland by their first names. Bishop Murray faced some of the knottiest problems that bishops are called upon to face, especially in the management of the affairs of the Cathedral of Maryland, and always with thoroughness and signal ability, accomplishing all that it was possible to do. He grew with the years in vision and usefulness, and made such a strong impression upon his brethren in General Convention that he was soon made a member of the National Council. At the General Convention in New Orleans, in the year 1925, he was elected Presiding Bishop of the Church and President of the National Council. This was perhaps the highest distinction that had ever come to a bishop of this diocese, and the manner in which he met the often perplexing duties and problems of his office, his fervent Evangelical spirit, combined with definite convictions about Christian truth and Church order, his personal interest in missionaries in the field, and his untiring devotion to duty, won for him the trust and gratitude of the whole Church.

It might appear from our narrative so far that the work of the Church in Maryland has been carried on mainly by men. Like General Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, in which the main fighting was done by the heroes in the ranks, the most effective work of the Church here, as elsewhere, has been done by women, who are also furnishing increasingly many of its most outstanding leaders. First, they found a field of diocesan work in our noble Church Home and Infirmary on Broadway, organized in 1855, now both a Home and Hospital. This is one of the most beneficent institutions in the whole Church, and one that in future will be dependent upon the measure of liberality which has maintained it in the past. After the Civil

War a group of our Churchwomen determined to salvage for the souls of men the energies that had been developed in the war work of women for their bodies on both sides of the strife. The result was the Woman's Auxiliary, born in Emmanuel Church in 1871. The name of Miss Eve Alexander, of St. Luke's Church, Baltimore, is the one most closely associated with the organization there on November 1, 1878, of the first branch of the Girls' Friendly Society, though that at St. Anne's, Annapolis, is now the oldest in the diocese. Only one in that country antedated that at St. Luke's. The All Saints' Sisters came to Baltimore in the eighteen seventies, had their home near Mt. Calvary Church, and are now established on a fine site at Orange Grove, where as a part of their community life they are teaching and caring for convalescent children. The Sisters of the Holy Nativity came to Mt. Calvary Church in 1917. At every General Convention we are filled with thankful pride as we mark the devotion and ability of the women of this diocese, for their influence is felt to the remotest missionary borders of the Church.

At length, borne down by the care of all the churches, while presiding on October 3, 1929, over a meeting of the House of Bishops at Atlantic City, Bishop Murray passed swiftly from his place beside the altar of St. James' Church to the mysteries and the ministries of the life within the veil.

The exacting duties of his national position soon obliged Bishop Murray to ask for episcopal assistance in Maryland. He proposed first the election of a suffragan, but this plan did not receive the consent of the Convention. He then asked for the election of a bishop-coadjutor. A special convention was held at the Undercroft of the Synod Hall on March 10 and 11, 1926, and after two days' balloting there was no election. At an adjourned convention held on October 20 of the same year Archdeacon Edward T. Helfenstein, who had received the largest vote at the spring convention, was elected Coadjutor Bishop, accepted his election, and was consecrated in Memorial Church on December 28, 1926, Bishop Fiske being the preacher.

Bishop Helfenstein is a native of Maryland, was educated at the Episcopal High School of Virginia, at Johns Hopkins University, and graduated in 1889 from the Virginia Theological Seminary. As the duties of the Presiding Bishop and the head of the National Council became increasingly onerous, the burdens of this diocese devolved increasingly upon Bishop Helfenstein, who, having for many years been closely associated as a co-worker and archdeacon with Bishop Murray, has carried on conscientiously and effectively the policies of his predecessor.

But the appraisal of leaders and workers now living belongs to

the historian of the future. Among those not heretofore mentioned who served for a longer or shorter time in the Diocese of Maryland who were elevated to the Episcopate were the following: Charles Clifton Penick, George W. Peterkin, Charles C. Grafton, Isaac Lea Nicholson, Charles R. Hale, Chauncey B. Brewster, Addison Ingle, Missionary Bishop of Hankow; Alfred Harding, John Poyntz Tyler, Charles Fiske, John D. LaMothe, Missionary Bishop of Hawaii; Philip Cook, H. P. Almon Abbott and Wyatt Brown. St. Michael and All Angels has given four of its rectors, and St. Paul's one rector and four assistants to this high office. A few of the names of those who have gone to their reward may be recalled, among them Dr. J. Houston Eccleston, the beloved and honored rector of Emmanuel; the gifted priest-musician, Dr. J. S. B. Hodges, who for thirty-five years was the rector of St. Paul's; the consecrated R. H. Paine, of Mt. Calvary, and Dean Arthur J. Rich, of Hannah More, and more recently William M. Dame, Peregrine Wroth, Hugh Birckhead and R. F. Humphries, also those faithful and devoted priests who served with such distinction in country parishes, W. H. H. Powers and Hobart Smith. Among the laity mention must be made of Irving and William Keyser, John Black, Samuel J. Hough, Edgar G. Miller and Edward Guest Gibson. There are scores of noble priests, laymen and Churchwomen whose names, for lack of time, may not be mentioned, but whose faithful stewardship is written on high.

THE CORPORATION FOR THE RELIEF OF WIDOWS AND CHILDREN OF CLERGYMEN

By Walter Herbert Stowe

I. INTRODUCTION

THE Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Children of Clergymen has a special interest for American churchmen because of the part which it played in the organization of the American Church after the War of Independence. One hundred and fifty years ago, May 11, 1784, the members of the Corporation assembled in Christ Church, New Brunswick, New Jersey, to discuss the Corporation's affairs. Advantage was taken of the presence of clergy from New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, together with a few laymen, to devise measures for the re-organization of the colonial Church. From that meeting went forth the call which resulted in the holding of the first General Convention and the subsequent adoption of the Constitution and the Book of Common Prayer of the American Church.

II. BEFORE THE REVOLUTION

It is not commonly known that the clergy of the Church of England serving in the Middle Colonies of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania gathered together in voluntary conventions practically every year from 1760 until the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. In 1765, for example, a convention convened at Perth Amboy, New Jersey, October 3, addressed an exceedingly forceful letter to the Secretary of the Venerable Society (the usual designation for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts), urging the immediate consecration of a bishop for the colonies. The letter is signed by Myles Cooper as president and eleven other clergy: Richard Charlton, John Ogilvie, Isaac Browne, Colin Campbell, Samuel Auchmuty, Samuel Cooke, Thomas B. Chandler, Samuel Seabury, Robert McKean, Andrew Morton, and Leonard Cutting.¹

¹*S. P. G. Records, Letter No. 314; Letters and Reports of Missionaries. Copies now in the Library of Congress and the Libraries of Rutgers University and Christ Church Parish, New Brunswick, New Jersey. (Hereafter referred to as S. P. G. Records.)*

These voluntary conventions, frequently held, with their opportunities for discussing common problems, for training in self-government and corporate action, made possible the initiation of the Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Children of the Clergy. Dr. Smith explains its origin as follows:

"The distressed circumstances, in which the Episcopal Clergy in the more northern provinces of America, (and especially the Missionaries in the service of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts,) have too frequently been obliged to leave their families, had long been matter of discouragement to many from entering into the ministry of our Church, as well as of regret to pious and worthy members thereof.

"After sundry overtures, from time to time, it was at length resolved, at a meeting of the Clergy at Elizabethtown, in New Jersey, October, 1767, to appoint a committee to frame some plan of provision for the distressed widows and children of such of our Clergy as should die in narrow or necessitous circumstances. The committee were the Reverend Dr. Smith, Provost of the College of Philadelphia, the Reverend Dr. Auchmuty, Rector of Trinity Church, the Reverend Dr. Cooper, President of King's College, both of New York, and the Reverend Mr. Cooke, Missionary in Monmouth county, New Jersey.

"We met at Perth Amboy, May 12, 1768; and drew up a plan, and draughts of a Charter to be solicited by the Members of the committee in each of the three provinces of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, that there might be a body corporate, in whichever of these provinces we might have occasion to meet."²

The clergy were determined to press the project to a successful conclusion, for (according to a hitherto unpublished letter to the S. P. G.³), at a second voluntary convention held in New Brunswick, in the province of New Jersey, October 12, 1768, at which were present the Reverend Dr. Chandler, President, and the Reverend Messrs. William Thomson, Inglis, Cutting, Viets, Odell, Beardsley, Beach, Ayers, Frazer, Dr. Smith, Dr. Auchmuty, Dr. Cooper, Charlton, Browne, Preston, Cooke, Seabury and Barton, it was resolved: "That the following letter, and a copy of the Paper therein referred to, be transmitted by the President of this Convention, to the Rev-

²*From the Preface to Dr. Wm. Smith's Book, containing the New York Charter, Dr. Smith's Sermon, and informative appendices (page 387), now in the possession of Dr. E. C. Chorley, Editor of the Historical Magazine of the Episcopal Church. (Hereafter referred to as Dr. Smith's Book.)*

³*S. P. G. Records, Irrelevant Material, #315-6. Copies now in the Library of Congress, Washington, and the Libraries of Rutgers College and Christ Church Parish, New Brunswick, New Jersey. Letter No. 315. (Hereafter referred to as S. P. G. Records.)*

erend Dr. Burton, Secretary to the Hon. Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, etc., Viz:

“Reverend Sir:

“The Clergy of New Jersey and New York, with as many of their Brethren from Pennsylvania as could conveniently attend together with a Delegate from the Connecticut Convention, now met in New Brunswick, considering maturely the distressed Situation of many of the Widows and Children of the Episcopal Clergy in America, who, by reason of the smallness of their Income, are not only disabled from making any future Provision for their Families, but are scarcely able, with the greatest Economy to support them, with a decency becoming their Characters, even during their lives, have unanimously agreed upon the enclosed Scheme for their Relief, provided it meets with the Approbation of the Ven. Society.

“And as it is necessary, in particular, that the Fifth and Sixth Articles of the said Plan should obtain the approbation and consent of the Society, before it can be effectually carried into Execution, they humbly request that you, Reverend Sir, will be pleased in their Behalf, to solicit the approbation and concurrence of that venerable Body (respecting the said Two Articles), so that they may proceed in their intended Plan, with the Spirit and Application which are due to a design of such great Importance.”

The letter is signed by Thomas B. Chandler as President of the Convention, and was read at the Committee in London January 16, 1769. The Fifth and Sixth articles, upon which stress is laid, refer to the Society's *financial* cooperation.

While awaiting a reply from the Venerable Society in England, two persons were appointed in each province to solicit the charters. Dr. Auchmuty and Dr. Cooper for New York; Mr. Cooke and Mr. Odell for New Jersey; Dr. Smith and Dr. Peters for Pennsylvania. They all testified to the readiness of the several governors to grant the charters.

Pennsylvania's Charter was obtained first, February 7, 1769, from Governor John Penn; New Jersey's was next, March 29, 1769, from Governor Franklin; New York's Charter was delayed by the illness and death of Sir Henry Moore, but was granted September 29th, 1769, by Lieutenant Governor Colden.

The Charters granted in Pennsylvania and New Jersey were in every article the same as the New York Charter. The names of the persons incorporated were the same in all of them, and stood in the same order, except that the names of those who were of the council for each province stood first in the charter granted for that particular

province. The names of the clerical members were placed in the charters according to seniority of degree among those having a doctor's degree, and after them according to seniority of priest's orders.⁴

Mr. Wallace, in his excellent "Historical Sketch" of 1870, surmises but is not certain that Dr. Smith of Philadelphia was the prime mover in the plan; that he borrowed the idea from the existing Presbyterian Corporation and had the assistance of that Corporation's leading member—Francis Allison; that Benjamin Franklin had something to do with it; and that Dr. Richard Price, a non-conformist minister of England and the most eminent authority on annuities and actuarial principles of the day, may have examined this particular colonial scheme.

Of all this there can be no doubt. Not only had Dr. Smith been traveling in England and Scotland in 1762-3-4, during which the subject of annuities was receiving public attention, but he tells us in his sermon in so many words that "everything relative to this design, from the beginning, has passed through my hands, assisted by a few others, appointed for that purpose."⁵ We are safe in saying that this statement errs on the side of modesty. Like the chairman of a typical committee of today, he probably did most of the work. On the very same page of the sermon, he appends a footnote as follows: "Many of all persuasions have expressed their hearty wishes for the success of the design; and I am particularly bound to acknowledge the very ready assistance received from a worthy friend of mine, (my colleague the Reverend Dr. Allison, Vice-Provost of the College of Philadelphia) who was a leading member of the corporation for the relief of widows and children of Presbyterians; and who communicated to me not only several useful papers, but likewise whatever remarks he thought might enable us to improve our plan, on the experience of any difficulties or deficiencies that had occurred in the execution of theirs."⁶

Also, as an appendix in Dr. Smith's Book⁷, is given in full, covering two and one-half printed pages, "Remarks on the Scheme of the Corporation for the Relief of the Widows and Children of Clergymen, in the Communion of the Church of England in America; drawn up by Dr. Price, at the request of Dr. Franklin, and by him transmitted to the Corporation." Dr. Price proceeds to analyze the plan in the light of his knowledge and of the mortality experience of ministers in Scotland. In brief, his opinion was that the annuity to be granted should be only four and not five times the annual payment as the colonial corporation proposed. Some doubts already entertained on

⁴*Dr. Smith's Book*, p. 394.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 417.

⁶*Ibid.*

⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 427-430.

this score and now confirmed by Dr. Price's opinion explain probably the zeal of the contributors in seeking outside gifts from the laity in which they were so successful. And this success obviated the need of either reducing the amount of the promised annuity or of increasing the payments of the contributors.

The answer of the S. P. G. to the Corporation's application for assistance must have been encouraging. Their answer, addressed to Dr. Smith, signed by the Secretary, the Reverend Dr. Burton, was as follows: "That as a mark of their earnest desire to forward so benevolent an undertaking, they willingly charge themselves with an annual contribution of Twenty Pounds Sterling to the scheme for each of the provinces of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania; that is, Sixty Pounds Sterling per annum in the whole; for which the treasurer of the Corporation for the Relief of the Widows, etc., may draw on the treasurer to the Society, for Propagating the Gospel, commencing from the time that the charters should be obtained, and the subscriptions of the Clergy themselves take place here."⁸

The first meeting of the newly chartered Corporation fell on October 3, 1769, and started in Burlington, New Jersey, but ended in Philadelphia on October 10th, adjournment to the latter place being necessary to secure a majority of the members of the Corporation for the enactment of Fundamental Rules.

Those who attended the first meeting were as follows:

Hon. John Penn, Esq., Lieutenant-Governor of Pennsylvania; Hon. James Hamilton, Esq; Benjamin Chew, Esq., Attorney-General of Pennsylvania; James Tilghman, Esq; Charles Read, Esq.; Frederick Smythe, Esq., Chief Justice of New Jersey; Joseph Galloway, Esq., Speaker of the Assembly of Pennsylvania; Alexander Stedman, Esq.; John Ross, Esq.; Richard Hockley, Esq.; Samuel Johnson, Esq.; Thomas Willing, Esq., one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania; John Swift, Esq.; Samuel Powel, Esq.; Francis Hopkinson, Esq.; Dr. John Kearsley, Esq.; Daniel Coxe, Esq., of Trenton, New Jersey; John Lawrence, Esq., Mayor of Burlington, New Jersey; Rev. William Smith, D. D.; Rev. Samuel Auchmuty, D. D.; Rev. Thomas Bradbury Chandler, D. D.; Rev. Myles Cooper, LL. D.; Clerks: Rev. William Currie, Rev. Richard Charlton, Rev. George Craig, Rev. Samuel Cooke, Rev. Thomas Barton, Rev. William Thompson, Rev. Jacob Duche, Rev. Leonard Cutting, Rev. Alexander Murray, Rev. Jonathan Odell, Rev. Samuel Magaw, Rev. John Andrews, Rev. Abraham Beach, Rev. William Ayres, Rev. William Frazer, Rev. Henry Muhlenburg.

⁸*Dr. Smith's Book*, p. 394.

It had been agreed that there should be an anniversary sermon before the Corporation; and that each of the clerical members should preach in turn according to the order in which their names stood in the charters. This regulation fittingly required Dr. Smith to preach the first sermon, and he rose to his opportunity magnificently in Christ Church, Philadelphia. Dr. Smith postulates the Doctrine of Stewardship and Benevolence and proves it under the Divine Justice and Judgment of the Old Testament. He then expounds its progressive revelation and culmination in the Divine Love as revealed by and in Jesus Christ in the New Testament, and as applied by the apostolic writers. His exposition of the Pauline triad of Faith, Hope and Love is very fine. Then he drives home his application to the needs of the day with vigor and persuasive power. By any test it was an effective sermon. It produced in that very day's collection for the infant Corporation £40, 0s., 6d., and its subsequent printing and wide distribution influenced generous gifts for years afterwards.

The following year Dr. Smith received a letter from the Reverend Thomas Wharton, Rector of St. Michael's, in Bridgetown, Barbadoes (about 2,000 miles from New York), "setting forth that he had been favored with a copy of Dr. Smith's sermon, delivered the preceding year, at the first meeting of the corporation, which Mr. Wharton was pleased to say, 'carried with it such arguments as made him desirous of offering something more than empty praise to so meritorious a design, and that he proposed to set a collection on foot in the island of Barbadoes for the benefit of the charity.'"⁹ He was as good as his word, and on May 23, 1772, sent the sum of £190, 9s., 8d. Sterling, which represented £248, 2s., 10d. in Barbadoes currency, and this produced in Pennsylvania money £304, 15s., 6d. The Pennsylvania pound appears to have been worth about \$2 2/3 or \$2.66. Thus the Barbadoes collection was about \$810.00.¹⁰

Mr. Wallace could find no list of these generous contributors and thought that "the names of the contributors are probably lost to us forever."¹¹ Fortunately they are not lost, for Dr. Smith records them in the appendices of his book.¹²

Dr. Smith tells us that after dining together, the members of the corporation proceeded to frame fundamental Laws and that they had the diligent, expert assistance of "the Gentlemen of the Law," who "deserve to be held in grateful remembrance by the Clergy."¹³

The keen interest and generous gifts of the laity were from the

⁹Dr. Smith's Book, page 426.

¹⁰Ibid, pp. 426, 427.

¹¹Wallace, "Hist. Sketch," p. 34.

¹²Dr. Smith's Book, pp. 434, 435.

¹³Ibid., p. 421.

first encouraging. Distinguished laymen of the day attended the first meeting, and Francis Hopkinson was the first treasurer of the Pennsylvania Corporation.

The Fundamental Laws adopted at that first meeting are still in substance the laws of the New Jersey Corporation. The eldest Mr. Binney's summary of their character is classic:¹⁴

"They allowed of one mode of contribution only, by annual payments to the corporation of either eight, sixteen, or twenty-four dollars, at the option of the clergyman contributing; and it stipulated to give relief to his surviving widow and children, and to either if there were not both descriptions of survivors, according to one uniform rule. The clergyman was bound to make his payment regularly in each year during his life, and to make fifteen annual contributions certainly, to entitle his widow and children to the largest rate of relief, namely, if he left a widow only, to an annuity of five-fold the amount of the annual payment during her widowhood, and if she married again, to one-half of the quintuple annuity for her life; if he left both widow and children, the annuity was divided between them—one-third to the widow, as aforesaid, and two-thirds of it to the children for thirteen years; if he left a widow and one child, the annuity was divided between the widow and child—one-half to the widow, as aforesaid, and the other half to the child for thirteen years; and if he left a child or children and no widow, the child or children took the whole annuity for the term of thirteen years. If the clergyman paid any number less than five annual contributions, his widow and children were entitled only to ten per cent per annum on the amount of his contributions, for thirteen years; and if he paid five or more, and less than fifteen annual contributions, they were entitled to only half the amount of the full annuity, until the amount of the half retained by the Corporation, added to the five or more payments made by the deceased, without computing interest, should, together, make a sum equal to fifteen annual payments, at which time the full annuity became payable."

Letters were sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Most Reverend Frederick Cornwallis, to the Archbishop of York, and to the Right Reverend Richard Terrick, Bishop of London. The Archbishop of Canterbury replied cordially and gave them his blessing; the Archbishop of York does not appear to have replied at all; and the Bishop of London, under whose jurisdiction the Church in the colonies had been placed from the beginning, not only replied cordially with his blessing, but sent them twenty pounds in good hard cash.

¹⁴*Wallace, p. 24.*

The *second* meeting, that of 1770, was held in New York and Dr. Auchmuty, Rector of Trinity Church, preached the annual sermon. The total benefactions and gifts for the two years 1769 and 1770 amounted to £784, 11s., 1d. Of this amount, the congregation of Trinity Church contributed £140, 11s., 3d. at the annual meeting on October 2nd.

The *third* meeting, 1771, took place in Perth Amboy, New Jersey, and Dr. Chandler preached the sermon in St. Peter's Church. The congregation contributed £30, 3s., 2d., indicating that then as now more money was to be found in New York and Pennsylvania than in New Jersey. The total receipts for the year 1771 were £323, 16s., 1d. Considerably more attention was paid the temporal authorities in those days than now, for we find an address of welcome authorized for presentation to the new governor of New York—Governor Tryon.

The *fourth* meeting, October 8, 1772, was addressed by the president of the corporation, Dr. Peters, in his own parish church (Christ Church), Philadelphia, and a collection of £120, 3s., 4d. added to the corporation's resources. The total collected in 1772 (including the sum of £304, 15s., 6d. in Pennsylvania money from Barbadoes), amounted to the large sum of £751, 4s., 9d.

The *fifth* meeting, October 5th, 1773, in New York, was addressed again by Dr. Peters, who preached "the same sermon which he had preached (but not printed) the former year at Philadelphia" due to the illness of the appointed preacher, Mr. Reading of Apoquiniminck, Pennsylvania. The congregation of Trinity Church responded with a collection of £92, 16s., 8d., which sum, added to the others received for the year, made a grand total of £591, 11s., 11d. for 1773.

The Corporation's balance sheet¹⁵ at the end of 1773 stood as follows:

Total received 1769 & 1770.....	£ 784	11	1
“ “ “ 1771.....	£ 323	16	1
“ “ “ 1772.....	£ 751	4	9
“ “ “ 1773.....	£ 591	11	11
<hr/>			
Grand Total first five years.....	£2451	3	10

This sum was distributed among the respective treasurers as follows:¹⁶

¹⁵Dr. Smith's Book, p. 438.

¹⁶Note concerning exchange and value of colonial pound: Dr. Smith's Book has a foot note, p. 431, as follows: "The current money in these provinces being of different value, the several articles are reduced into the currency of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, where a Spanish milled dollar of seventeen penny-weight and six grains, passes for seven shillings and six pence; but in New York for eight shillings."

A British pound sterling appears to have been worth about one hundred sixty per

Jacob LeRoy, Esq., Treas. for New York..	£ 788	0	5
Rev. Dr. Chandler, Treas. for New Jersey.	£ 204	3	5
Samuel Powell, Esq., Treas. for Penna....	£1353	13	10

Total Stock, December 30, 1773....	£2345	17	8
Balance expended by the Treasurers in paying accounts of printers, etc.:			
Treas. for New York.....	£40	10	6
Treas. for New Jersey.....	£14	8	8
Treas. for Pennsylvania.....	£48	13	6

Total expended as above.....	£ 103	12	8
Expenses for 1773.....	£ 1	13	6

Total Stock and Expenses.....	£2451	3	10
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The *sixth* meeting occurred in Elizabeth-town, New Jersey, the first Wednesday after the Feast of St. Michael, 1774. From the beginning the members had been energetic in securing gifts to the corporation over and above the contributions of the members. This determination was strengthened by Dr. Price's analysis of 1773, and probably explains the following entry on the minutes of 1774:¹⁷

"Resolved, That this Corporation ought humbly to solicit a grant of a quantity of land from HIS MAJESTY, for the further support of this charitable institution; that they think such a grant could be advantageously located in Canada, on the far side of the Ohio, near or adjoining the western boundary of Pennsylvania, and that the following gentlemen, viz.,

The Right Honorable the Earl of Sterling, the Honorable Mr. Chief Justice Smith, and the Rev. Dr. Chandler, of New Jersey; Goldsborough Banyar and James Duane, Esqs., with the Rev. Dr. Auchmuty, of New York; and the Hon. James Hamilton and Benjamin Chew, Esq., with the Rev. Dr. Smith of Pennsylvania,

Be and they are hereby nominated a committee, with powers to locate the lands, determine the proper quantity to be prayed for, and also to prepare and send home the petition at such time as they may think proper. *And it is the opinion of this board that such application should be speedily made.*

The time was too short before the Revolution for anything to come of this endeavor, but it casts an interesting light upon the loyalty

cent of a Pennsylvania colonial pound, although the rate varied; in 1772, it was 57½%; in 1773, 68%. That is to say, in 1771, £60 sterling produced £96 Penna. money; in 1772, the same amount of sterling produced £94 10s; and in 1773, £101 5s Pennsylvania money. A Pennsylvania pound appears to have been worth about \$2 2/3 (\$2.66). A British pound sterling produced 160% in dollars, or \$4.856.

¹⁷Wallace, p. 37.

of the members of the Corporation to the King's Government and upon the prevailing state of mind among them which indicated that such a thing as revolution was unlikely.

In October, 1774, the Corporation's balance sheet appears to have been as follows:¹⁸

For Pennsylvania.....	£1411	6.	10.
For New York.....	£1006	7.	8¾.
For New Jersey.....	£ 232	6.	8.
	£2650	1.	2¾.

This made in Pennsylvania currency £2572, 12s., 10d., or about \$6,860 at the rate of \$2.66 to the Pennsylvania pound. Certainly this was a most creditable showing for the first six years of the Corporation's history.

The meeting of 1775, properly the *seventh*, was held in Philadelphia, but the minutes were lost in the confusion of the war. The entry of payments in October, 1775, indicated that the contributors, who numbered twenty-seven in 1771, had decreased to four. Most of the clergy were harried out of the land. Dr. Chandler, the treasurer for New Jersey, went to England, and Dr. Peters—the first president and generous benefactor in the amount of £200—died July 10, 1776, six days after the Declaration of Independence was set forth.

Without a corporate head for nearly ten years, without a treasurer for New Jersey, with so few contributors, and no meetings held all through the war, it appeared that this noble endeavor was dead beyond recall. But, under the Providence of God, a faithful remnant remained, of whom Abraham Beach, of New Brunswick, New Jersey, Drs. William Smith and William White of Philadelphia were the chief.

III. AFTER THE REVOLUTION

Some time following Cornwallis' surrender at Yorktown, October 19, 1781, and the Treaty of Peace, formally ending the Revolutionary War, September 3, 1783, the Reverend Abraham Beach of New Brunswick opened a correspondence with the Reverend Dr. William White of Philadelphia in which the hope was expressed "that the members of the Episcopal Church in this country would interest themselves in its behalf, would endeavor to introduce Order and uniformity into it, and provide for a succession in the Ministry."¹⁹

The first meeting of the Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Children of Clergymen since 1775 resulted from this correspondence

¹⁸Wallace, p. 38.

¹⁹Perry, Wm. S., "History of the American Episcopal Church," Vol. II., p. 6.

on May 11, 1784, in New Brunswick, New Jersey. The clergy and laity who attended were: the Reverend Drs. White of Christ Church and Magaw of St. Paul's, Philadelphia, and the Reverend Messrs. Beach (New Brunswick), Bloomer (Jamaica, L. I.), Frazer (Trenton), Ogden (Asst. Trinity, New York), Blackwell (Asst. Christ Church, Philadelphia), Bowden, Benjamin Moore (Asst. Trinity, New York), and Thomas Moore (St. George's, South Hempstead, New York); and, of the laity, Messrs. James Parker, John Stevens, Richard Stevens, John Dennis, Esq., and Colonels Hoyt and Furman.

A committee of correspondence was appointed "for the purpose of forming a continental representation of the Episcopal Church and for the better management of the concerns of the said Church."²⁰

Another committee consisting of the Rev. Messrs. Beach, Bloomer, and Benjamin Moore was appointed to attend the Trinity convocation of the Connecticut clergy, "for the purpose of soliciting their concurrence . . . in such measures as may be deemed conducive to the union and prosperity of the Episcopal Church in the States of America."

They also determined to procure a larger meeting of the Corporation on Tuesday, the 5th of October following, at New York.

This meeting accordingly took place; Dr. Smith was chosen chairman and the Rev. Benjamin Moore (afterwards Bishop of New York), secretary. A committee of three clerical and three lay members was appointed "to examine into the affairs of this Corporation since the last meeting at Philadelphia . . . in the year 1775, and to report thereon as soon as may be." Drs. Smith, White and Provoost were the clerical members; Messrs. Duane, Peters and Livingston, the lay members. The next day, Wednesday, October 6th, the members of the Corporation attended service in St. Paul's Chapel, where Dr. Magaw of Philadelphia preached.

On the 8th the Committee was ready to report and recommended that the changes occasioned by the conditions resulting from the war be made in the charters. These included applications for revisions to the Legislatures of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, deleting the supervisory powers of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Bishop of London, and transferring them to the Governor, Chancellor, and Chief Justice of the State of New York, or any two of them, and the Governor, Chief Justice and Attorney General of the states of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, respectively, or any two of them; and that the title of the Corporation be changed to read: "*The Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Children of Clergymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.*"

²⁰Perry, Wm. S., "*History of the American Episcopal Church,*" Vol. II., p. 6.

The Committee also recommended that the Corporation proceed to the necessary business including the election of officers, election of new members and the consideration of the financial condition of the Corporation.

These recommendations were accepted. Twenty-nine new members were added to the list and among them such distinguished laymen as Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, Robert R. and Walter Livingston, John Stevens and Morgan Lewis of New York; John Rutherford and Joshua Maddox Wallace of New Jersey; Robert and Gouverneur Morris, Jasper Yeates, and Matthew Clarkson of Pennsylvania.

Dr. Smith, very fittingly in view of his outstanding part in organizing the Corporation, was elected president; and Benjamin Moore, secretary. Three treasurers were elected; for New York, John Alsop; for New Jersey, Joshua Maddox Wallace; and for Pennsylvania, Samuel Powel was re-elected.

The finances were in varying degrees of soundness. New Jersey's whole fund of £232 6s. 8d. was lost. There was some dispute with the New York treasurer (Mr. LeRoy) because of complications of interest and Continental paper money. A settlement was finally made acceptable to both parties for £1237 10s. 7¾d. Mr. Powel of Pennsylvania came forward with £2795 10s. 6d. for that State, a splendid record of thirteen years in a most trying time.

The Corporation began its post-Revolutionary career with the balance sheet as follows:

The Fund in Pennsylvania.....	£2795	10s.	6d.
The Fund in New York.....	£1237	10s.	7¾d.
The Fund in New Jersey.....	£ 18	14s.	3d.
This represented dues from Rev. Messrs. Blackwell, Frazer, Beach and Odell, 1775 to 1784.			

In 1784, therefore, the total capital of the Corporation was about.....	£4051	5s.	4¾d.
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At \$2.66 per pound, this would represent about \$10,800.00, a very tidy sum to have survived the rigors of the Revolutionary War.

From this time on, meetings were intermittent. The Fund grew steadily and it became increasingly evident that three independent corporations would be better than one. In 1786, Mr. James De Blez of New York bequeathed £400 to the Corporation. In 1789, Dr. Smith retired as president and Bishop White was elected to succeed him. In the same year, Mr. Andrew Doz of Pennsylvania left a share in his property (one-seventh) to the Corporation which produced eventually about \$4,000.00.

Finally, at the meeting in Trenton, May, 1796, it was decided that three distinct corporations should be formed and the funds divided. A committee consisting of Bishop White, Dr. Blackwell of Pennsylvania, Dr. Beach of New York, and Mr. Wallace of New Jersey, was appointed to effect a division of the funds. The principles to be applied in this delicate task are interesting:²¹

1. That an estimate should be made of all moneys contributed in the States respectively, whether by subscription or donation.

2. That an estimate should be made of all moneys contributed by corporations, or by individuals not residing in any of the three States.

3. That an exact statement of the funds of the present Corporation should be made, from which it might be ascertained how far they fell short of the sums which had been received.

4. That a new fund should be raised in each State by a demand on the present aggregate fund, in a ratio compounded of a right to one-third of what should appear on Article 2, and to a share in what should appear on Article 1, proportioned to the moneys which had been contributed in each State, whether by subscription or by donation.

It appears to have taken almost ten years to bring this to pass. At the final meeting in Philadelphia, November 27, 1806, the committee reported that the whole fund consisted of \$26,485.00, and that it should be divided as follows:

To the separate corporation in New York.....	\$11,806.
To the " " " " " Pennsylvania.....	10,390.
" " " " " New Jersey.....	4,289.

Total to be divided.....	\$26,485.
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Abraham Beach, now Assistant Rector of Trinity Church, New York, having left New Brunswick for that post in 1784, was the only survivor of the original corporators of 1769. Bishop White had been elected to membership in 1772. Robert Blackwell had been elected in 1773 while a missionary in New Jersey. Later he served as a chaplain in the Continental Army; and from 1781 to 1811, was Senior Assistant Minister of Christ Church and St. Peter's, Philadelphia. Wallace, distinguished layman of Burlington, New Jersey, had been elected at the first meeting in New York, after the war, in 1784.

Appreciating the importance of what they were doing, the members of the committee executed a paper, signed and recorded as a perpetual record and counsel,²² as follows:

²¹Wallace, p. 47.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 48.

Philadelphia, November 27th, 1806.

"We the subscribers, having this day ratified a plan of division of the fund of the Corporation for the Relief of the Widows and Children of Clergymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, embrace the opportunity of recording our unanimous opinion, intending to deliver the same to the members of the said corporation in the States in which we respectively reside, that it will be incumbent on the contemplated corporations in the distinct States to continue their respective funds on the general principles on which the aggregate fund was established, and especially to keep in view the principle that contributions duly paid, agreeably to the fundamental laws, are the price of the purchase of an annuity, *which should be rendered as secure as the nature of human affairs will permit*, and that in regard not only to former but also to future contributors, the aggregate corporation having pledged themselves, and as far as they could, their successors, to that effect.

Wm. White,
Abm. Beach,
Robert Blackwell,
J. M. Wallace.

As we have recorded above the names of the clergy and laity who attended the first meeting of the Corporation in 1769, it seems fitting that we should record here also the names of those who, twenty-two in number, signed the act of dissolution of the old Corporation. They were:

For Pennsylvania: The Rt. Rev. Wm. White, D. D., the Rev. Robt. Blackwell, D. D., the Rev. Joseph Pilmore, D. D., the Rev. James Abercrombie, D. D., the Rev. Joseph Hutchins, the Rev. Joseph Clarkson, Edward Tilghman, Esq., the Hon. Richard Peters, the Hon. John D. Coxe, Gen. Francis Gurney, Matthew Clarkson, Esq., Tench Coxe, Esq., James Ash, Esq., Benjamin Smith Barton, M. D.

For New York: The Rt. Rev. Benjamin Moore, D. D., the Rt. Rev. Saml. Provoost, D. D., the Rev. Abraham Beach, D. D., Richard Channing Moore, D. D., the Rev. William Hammel.

For New Jersey: The Rev. Chas. H. Wharton, D. D., Joshua Maddox Wallace, Esq., William Coxe, Esq.

IV. SINCE THE DIVISION

The history of this "Venerable" Corporation after 1806 is the history of *three* corporations and will require three separate histories too long to be related here. A word of summary concerning each must suffice.

The Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Children of Clergymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New York

was incorporated March 23, 1798. This was amended February 14, 1816, to permit relief to widows and children of clergymen who had removed from the State of New York after five annual contributions. The division of the original colonial Corporation's funds in 1806 had allotted \$11,806 to the New York Corporation as its working capital. This had increased to \$151,200 in 1872 and at the end of 1932 amounted to over \$500,000. The number of contributors has been limited to a total of 250. All contributors enrolled before 1929 pay \$8 per year; all new contributors since 1929 pay \$12 per year. The fixed annuity to the widow and/or children of a clergyman who has paid fifteen annual contributions is \$100; the dividends add about \$90 to this; making the total annuity at present about \$190 per year.

The New Jersey Corporation has retained the Fundamental Laws of 1769 with comparatively minor changes. Incorporated as an independent corporation in the State of New Jersey, December 2, 1807, the Laws were amended June 4, 1888, and again on June 7 and November 8, 1926. From the \$4,289 apportioned to it in 1806 on the dissolution of the original corporation, its resources have grown to more than \$200,000; and for \$8 per year it promises an annuity, after fifteen payments, of \$100 per year to the widow and/or children of a clerical member, together with additional dividends making another \$100 per year, or a total annuity of \$200 per year.

The Pennsylvania Corporation, after twenty-five years' experience as an independent corporation operating under essentially the same Fundamental Laws as the original corporation, found that the clergy were not seeking the benefits of the corporation as they should. Consequently, in 1835, the Fundamental Laws were altered along the lines of an insurance company. This has accomplished the desired results and a policy in the Corporation is much coveted by every clergyman in the State of Pennsylvania who has any sense of responsibility to his dependents. The rates are exceedingly low and the refunds to the policyholders while living are most generous. The total assets of the Pennsylvania Corporation are today, even in depression times, over two million (\$2,000,000) dollars.

One rises from the study of the history of this "Venerable" Corporation with a feeling of gratitude to God and its early members for the high purpose which animated them and for their fidelity to that purpose. One receives a strengthened conviction that disinterested aims and faithful service in their fulfillment cannot be permanently defeated. Wars and tumults and panics and depressions come and go, but somehow under the Providence of God the Corporation in its original form or in its offspring has survived to do the work appointed it. May it continue to do so!

LAWS RELATING TO THE EARLY COLONIAL CHURCH IN VIRGINIA

FROM VOLUME I, HENING'S STATUTES AT LARGE

Compiled by William A. R. Goodwin.

THE Virginia Colony, which was established at Jamestown in 1607, had its origin in the avowed desire to extend the dominion of the English crown and the dominant influence of the English Church. In these fundamental motives it differed radically from the purposes which prompted the early colonizations in northern New England, where, in general, the Church of England had to fight for its footing.

The Virginia settlers left old England with chartered sanctions from King and Council and with the formal commission of the Church of England, evidenced by services of blessing held upon their departure and the commission of the Archbishop of Canterbury appointing Robert Hunt, of Reculver in Kent, as the official Chaplain of the Colony.

The Royal Charter "relating to the First Settlement of Virginia," dated April 10th, 1606, emphasizes the place which the Christian religion as held and taught by the Church of England should have in the life and conduct of the Colony.

The Preamble of the Charter, Section III, states:

We greatly commending, and graciously accepting of, their desires for the furtherance of so noble a work, which may, by the providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the glory of his divine Majesty, in propagating of Christian religion to such people, as yet live in darkness and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God, and may in time bring the infidels and savages, living in those parts, to human civility, and to a settled and quiet government; Do by these our letters pattents, graciously accept of, and agree to, their humble and well intended desires. (Hening's Statutes at Large. Page 58.)

In the same Charter, among the Articles, Instructions and Orders "sett down and established by us," the Charter says:—

. . . And wee doe specially ordaine, charge, and require, the said presidents and councells, and the ministers of the said several colonies respectively, within their several limits and precincts, that they, with all diligence, care, and respect, doe provide, that the true word, and service of God and Christian faith be preached, planted, and used, not only within every of the said colonies, and plantations, but alsoe as much as they may amongst the salvage people which doe or shall adjoine unto them, or border upon them, according to the doctrine, rights, and religion now professed and established within our realme of England, and that they shall not suffer any person, or persons to withdrawe any of the subjects or people inhabiting, or which shall inhabit within any of the said several colonies and plantations from the same, or from their due allegiance, unto us, our heires and successors, as their immediate soveraigne under God. (Pages 68-69.)

In this Charter the following instruction is given relative to christianizing the Indians:—

. . . And wee doe hereby determine and ordaine, that every person and persons being our subjects of every the said collonies and plantations shall from time to time well entreate those salvages in those parts, and use all good meanes to draw the salvages and heathen people of the said several places, and of the territories and countries adjoining to the true service and knowledge of God, and that all just, kind and charitable courses, shall be holden with such of them as shall conforme themselves to any good and sociable traffique and dealing with the subjects of us, our heires and successors, which shall be planted there, whereby they may be the sooner drawne to the true knowledge of God, and the obedience of us, our heires, and successors. (Page 74.)

Their first act upon landing on Virginia soil was to hold a service of thanksgiving at Cape Henry. They then proceeded up the Powhatan River, which was renamed the James in honor of their patron King, and landed on May 13, 1607, at a point which they named Jamestown. There another service of thanksgiving was held and on the Third Sunday after Trinity the Holy Communion was celebrated.

Captain John Smith wrote:—

“I well remember wee did hang an awning (which is an old saile) to three or foure trees, to shadow us from the Sunne, our walles were railes of wood, our seates unhewed trees, till we cut planks; our Pulpit a bar of wood nailed to two neighbouring trees; in foule weather we shifted into an old rotten tent; for we had few better, and this came by way

of advanture for new. . . . Wee had daily Common Prayer morning and evening, every Sunday two Sermons, and every three months the holy communion, till our minister died (the Rev. Mr. Hunt): but our prayers daily, with an homily on Sundaies, we continued two or three years after, till more Preachers came."*

On July 30, 1619, the first representative Legislative Assembly held in the new world met in the Church at Jamestown, where:—

"Sir George Yeardley, the Governor, being sett downe in his accustomed place, those of the Counsel of Estate sate next to him on both handes, except onely the Secretary (John Pory), then appointed Speaker, who sate right before him; John Twine, clerke of the General Assembly, being placed next the Speaker; and Thomas Peirse, the Sergeant, standing at the barre, to be ready for any service the Assembly should command him. But forasmuche as men's affaires doe little prosper where God's service is neglected, all the Burgesses took their places in the Quire till a prayer was said by Mr. (Richard) Bucke, the minister, that it would please God to guard and sanctife all our proceedings to his owne glory and the good of this Plantation."†

It is of interest to note that the first seven laws enacted by the Assembly were laws governing the Church and Christian conduct in Virginia.

These and subsequent laws of similar import are to be found scattered through the thirteen volumes of Hening's Statutes at Large. These volumes, while not rare, are not generally easily accessible. Therefore, it has been thought that a useful purpose would be served by collecting these laws and publishing them consecutively as is here done. The laws presented in this article are all taken from Volume I of Hening, and cover the period from 1619 to 1660.

The ancient spelling has been used, except that the double small *f* has been replaced by the *F* as in the original, and the abbreviation *ye* is replaced by *the*, as *ye* was so intended and was so pronounced.

The page numbers following each Act refer to pages in Hening's Statutes at Large.

The Laws are as follows:—

LAWS AND ORDERS

CONCLUDED ON BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, MARCH THE 5TH, 1623-4.

- I. THAT there shall be in every plantation, where the people use to meete for the worship of God, a house or roome sequestred

*Smith, *Works* (Arber's ed.) 958.

†Virginia State Senate Doc. (extra) 1874, 9-32.

for that purpose, and not to be for any temporal use whatsoever, and a place empaled in, sequestered only to the buryal of the dead. (Pages 122, 123.)

- II. That whosoever shall absent himselfe from divine service any Sunday without an allowable excuse shall forfeite a pound of tobacco, and he that absenteth himselfe a month shall forfeit 50 lb. of tobacco. (Page 123.)
- III. That there be an uniformity in our church as neere as may be to the canons in England; both in substance and circumstance, and that all persons yeild readie obedience unto them under paine of censure. (Page 123.)
- IV. That the 22d of March* be yearly solemnized as holliday, and all other hollidays (except when they fall two together) betwixt the feast of the annuntiation of the blessed virgin and St. Michael the archangell, then only the first to be observed by reason of our necessities. (Page 123.)
- V. That no minister be absent from his church above two months in all the yeare upon penalty of forfeiting halfe his means, and whosoever shall absent above fowre months in the year shall forfeit his whole means and cure. (Pages 123, 124.)
- VI. That whosoever shall disparage a minister without bringing sufficient proove to justify his reports whereby the mindes of his parishioners may be alienated from him, and his ministry prove the less effectual by their prejudication, shall not only pay 500 lb. waight of tobacco but also aske the minister so wronged forgiveness publickly in the congregation. (Page 124.)
- VII. That no man dispose of any of his tobacco before the minister be satisfied, upon pain of forfeiture double his part of the minister's means, and one man of every plantation to collect his means out of the first and best tobacco and corn. (Page 124.)
- XIX. The proclamations for swearing and drunkenness sett out by the governor and counsell are confirmed by this Assembly; and it is further ordered that the churchwardens shall be sworne to present them to the commanders of every plantation and that the forfeitures shall be collected by them to be for publike uses. (Page 126.)

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

HOLDEN THE 16TH DAY OF OCTOBER, 1629

ACT VII

IT is ordered that there bee an especiall care taken by all commanders and others that the people doe repaire to their churches on

**This was in commemoration of the escape of the colony from entire extirpation by the fatal massacre of the Indians on the 22d of March, 1622. See Burk's Hist. Virg., Vol. 1, p. 240.*

the Saboth day, and to see that the penalty of one pound of tobacco for every time of absence and 50 pound for every months absence sett downe in the act of the Generall Assembly 1623, be levyed and the delinquents to pay the same, as alsoe to see that the Saboth day be not ordinarily profaned by workeing in any imployments or by iourneying from place to place. (Page 144.)

ACT IX

IT is thought fitt that all those that worke in the ground of what qualitie or condition soever, shall pay tithes to the ministers. (Page 144.)

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

HOLDEN THE 24TH MARCH, ANNO DOMINI 1629-30

ACT I

IT is ordered, That all ministers residing and beeing, or who hereafter shall reside and bee within this colony, shall conforme themselves in all thinges according to the cannons of the church of England. And if there shall bee any that, after notice given, shall refuse for to conforme himselfe, hee shall undergoe such censure, as by the said cannons in such cases is provided for such delinquent. And that all acts formerly made concerning ministers shall stand in force, and bee duly observed and kept. (Page 149.)

A GRAND ASSEMBLY

HOLDEN AT JAMES CITY THE 21ST OF FEBRUARY, 1631-2

ACT I

The 24th day of February was enacted this following Order for the Mynisters.

IT is ordered, That there bee a uniformitie throughout this colony both in substance and circumstance to the cannons and constitution of the church of England as neere as may bee and that every person yeald readie obedience unto them uppon penaltie of the paynes and forfeitures in that case appoynted. (Page 155.)

ACT II

THAT the statutes for comminge to church every Sonday and holydays bee duly executed. That is to say; that the church-wardens doe levy one shilling for every tyme of any person's absence from the church havinge no lawfull or reasonable excuse to bee absent. And for due execution hereof the Governor and Councell together with the burgisses of this grand assembly doe in Gods name earnestlie require and chardge all commanders, captaynes and church-wardens

that they shall endeavour themselves to the uttermost of their knowledge that the due and true execution hereof may be done and had through this colony, as they will answer before God for such evils and plagues wherewith Almighty God may justlie punish his people for neglectinge this good and wholesome lawe. (Page 155.)

ACT III

IT is ordered, That as many of the mynisters as convenientlie may, and one of the church-wardens at least, of every parish be present yearlie at midsomer quarter cort holden on the first day of June; and theire to make theire presentments uppon oath, togeather with a register of all burials, christnenings, & marriages, as likewise their accounts of all levyes, collections and disbursements as have beene or fallen out in their tymes concerninge the church affayres. And further that they choose church-wardens at the feast of Easter yearlie. (Page 155.)

ACT IV

And it is further ordered and thought expedient, according to a former order made, by the governor and counsell that all church-wardens shall take this oath and that it bee admynered before those that are of the commission for mounthlie corts, viz.

"YOU shall sweare that you shall make presentments of all such
"persons as shall lead a prophayne or ungodlie life, of such as shall
"be common swearers, drunkards or blasphemers, that shall ordinarilie
"profane the saboth dayes or contemne Gods holy word or sacraments.
"You shall also present all adulterers or fornicators, or such as shall
"abuse theire neighbors by slanderinge tale carryinge or back bitinge,
"or that shall not behave themselves orderlie and soberlie in the
"church during devyne servise. Likewise they shall present such
"maysters and mistrisses as shall be delinquent in the catechisinge
"the youth and ignorant persons. So helpe yow God!" (Page 156.)

ACT V

NOE man shall disparage a mynister whereby the myndes of his parishioners may be alienated from him and his mynistrie prove less effectuall uppon payne of severe censure of the governor and counsell. (Page 156.)

ACT VI

NO mynister shall celebrate matrimony betweene any persons without a facultie or lycense graunted by the Governor, except the baynes of matrimony have been first published three severall Sundays or holydays in the time of devyne service in the parish churches where the sayd persons dwell accordinge to the booke of common prayer, neither shall any mynister under any pretense whatsoever ioyne any persons soe licensed in marriage at any unseasonable tymes but only betweene the howers of eight and twelve in the forenoon, nor when banes are thrice asked, and no lycense in that respect necessarie, before the parents or guardians of the parties to be married beinge under

the age of twenty and one years, shall either personally or by sufficient testimony signifie unto him their consents given to the said marriage. (Page 156.)

ACT VII

EVERY mynister in this colony havinge cure of soules shall preach one sermon every sunday in the yeare, having no lawful impediment, and yf the mynisters shall neglect their charge by unnecessarie absence or otherwise the church wardens are to present it. But because in this colony the places of their cure are in many places far distant, It is thought fitt that the mynisters doe soe divide their turnes as by joynt agreement of the parishioners they should be desired. (Page 157.)

ACT VIII

IT is also thought fit, That upon every Sunday the mynister shall halfe an hower or more before evenenge prayer examine, catechise, and instruct the youth and ignorant persons of his parrish, in the ten commandments the articles of the beliefe and in the Lord's prayer; and shall diligentlie heere, instruct and teach them the catechisme, sett forth in the booke of common prayer. And all fathers, mothers, maysters and mistrisses shall cause their children, servants or apprentizes which have not learned the catechisme to come to the church at the tyme appoynted, obedientlie to heare, and to be ordered by the mynister untill they have learned the same: And yf any of the sayd Fathers, mothers, maysters and mistrisses, children, servants or apprentizes, shall neglect their duties as the one sorte in not causing them to come and the other in refusinge to learne as aforesayd, they shall be censured by the corts in those places holden. And this act to take beginninge at Easter next. (Page 157.)

ACT IX

WHEN any person is dangerouslie sicke in any parrish, the mynister havinge knowledge thereof shall resort unto him or her to instruct and comfort them in their distresse. (Pages 157, 158.)

ACT X

IN every parrish church within this colony shall be kept by the mynister a booke wherein shall be written the day and yeare of every christeninge, weddinge, and buriall. (Page 158.)

ACT XI

MYNISTERS shall not give themselves to excesse in drinkinge, or riott, spendinge their tyme idellye by day or night, playinge at dice, cards, or any other unlawfull game; but at all tymes convenient they shall heare or reade somewhat of the holy scriptures, or shall occupie themselves with some other honest study or exercise, alwayes doinge the thinges which shall apperteyne to honesty, and endeavour to profitt the church of God, always havinge in mynd that they ought

to excell all others in puritie of life, and should be examples to the people to live well and christianlie. (Page 158.)

ACT XII

IN every parish church where sacraments are to be admynistered within this colony, the holi communion shall be admynistred by the mynister thrice in the yeare, whereof the feast of Easter to be one. (Page 158.)

ACT XIII

AND all preachinge, admynistringe of the communion, and mariages shall be done in the church except in cases of necessitie. (Page 158.)

ACT XIV

The 24th of February was enacted this followinge Order for the Mynisters, viz:

THE governor and counsell together with the burgisses in this present grand assembly, uppon the petition of the mynisters within this colony, have taken into their consideration by what way their might be a sufficient meanes allowed unto the said mynisters for their better subsistence and encouragement in their mynistrie; and thereuppon have ordeyned and enacted that there shall be payd unto the sayd mynisters the former allowance of 10 lb. of tobaccoe and a bushell of corne, in such manner as formerlie hath beene done; and because of the lowe rates of tobacco at this present It is further graunted and ordered, that their shal be likewise due to the mynisters from the first day of March next ensuinge the 20th calfe, the 20th kidd of goates, and the 20th pigge, throughout all plantations within this colony; and that their may arise no difficultie nor controversie in the payment of this new allowance of meanes, It is thought fitt and ordered, That where any parishioners shall not have the complete number of 20 calves, kidds or piggs then the number which hath fallen att the feast of Easter shal be prayded and rated betweene the mynisters and one or more of his parishioners, and the 20th part thereof allowed to the mynister proportionably; but yf it fall out the number of calves, kidds or piggs arise to twenty then the owner is to choose five out of the sayd number and the mynister to make his choyse in the sixt place, and it is thought fitt that the owners keepe the sayd calves, kidds, or piggs untill the tyme that they bee weaneable, that is to say, for calves the owner to keepe them 7 weekes, and kidds likewise 7 weeks and piggs a month. And the parishioners are to give notice to the mynisters when they shall fetch their calves, kidds, or piggs that be due unto them. And this act to continue in force, untill the next meetinge of the grand assembly, at which tyme their may fall out just cause of alteration either by the advancement of tobacco or some other meanes, for that formerlie the ancient allowance of 10 lb. of tobacco and a bushell of corne hath beene a sufficient proportion for their maynteynance in their callinge.

It is likewise ordered, That the mynister shall have these petty duties as followeth, viz:

Imprimis.	For Marriage	2	0
	for Christeninge	0	0
	for Churchinge	1	0
	for Buryinge	1	0

It is ordered, That uppon the 25th day of October if it be not Sunday, and then the day followinge, the church-wardens shall give notice to the parishioners that they bringe in the dutie of 10 lb. of tobacco for the mynisters unto a place to be appoynted within that plantation by the sayd church-wardens, and that the mynister bee warned to be there or appoynt some other to receive the same. And it is likewise ordered, That the dutie of a bushell of corne be brought in uppon the 19th day of December to the place appoynted within that plantation by the mynister. And no planter or parishioner may neglect the bringinge of the tobacco, or corne uppon the penalty that yf any make default they shall forfeit double the quantitie of the tobacco and corne to be levied by distresse by authoritie from the commander; and likewise, by distresse, all arrearages of tobaccoe and corne due to the mynisters as duties shall or may be recovered by virtue of this order of this assembly. And yf the church-wardens shall fayle in the execution of their office hereby inioyned then the commander shall take order that it be levied by distresse out of the church-wardens' goods and chattells. (Pages 159, 160.)

ACT XV

IT is ordeyned and enacted that in all such places where any churches are wantinge, or decayed, the inhabitants shall be tyed to contribute towards the buildinge of a church, or repayringe any decayed church, the commissioners, togeather with the mynisters, church-wardens and chiefe of the parish to appoynt both the most convenient place for all parts to assemble togeather, and also to hire and procure any workeman, and order such necessities as are requisite to be done in such workes. This they are to effect before the feast of the nativitie of our Saviour Christ, or else the sayd commissioners, yf they be deficient in their duties, to forfeit 50£ in money, to be employed as the whole bodie of the Assembly shall dispose.

And it is ordered in like manner, That there be a certayne portion of ground appoynted out, and impaled or fenced in (uppon penalty of twenty Marques) to be for the buriall of the dead. (Pages 160, 161.)

* * *

ACT XVIII

IT is ordered, that all the counsell and burgisses of the assembly shall, in the morninge, be present at devine service, in the roome where they sitt, at the third beatinge of the drum, an hower after sun rise, uppon the penaltie of one shillinge to the benefitt of the marshall at James Citty; and yf any shall absent himselfe from the assembly, to pay 2s 6d to the same use; and yf any shall after neglect, to be fined by the whole bodie of the assembly. And this act to con-

tinue in force untill the assembly shall see cause to revoke it. (Page 162.)

* * *

ACT XXXI

AND the lawes of England agaynst drunkards are thought fitt, to be published and dulie put in execution, that is to say, for every offence to pay five shillings to the hands of the church wardens, and further as is conteyned in the statutes of the 4th of kinge James and the 5th chapter. (Page 167.)

ACT XXXII

AND it is thought fitt, That whosoever shall sweare an oath shall pay for every oath one shilling, as is ordeyned by the statute, &c. (Page 167.)

* * *

ACT LI

ALL men that are fittinge to beare armes, shall bringe their peices to the church uppon payne of every effence, yf the mayster allow not thereof to pay 2 lb. of tobacco, to be disposed by the churchwardens, who shall levy it by distresse, and the servants to be punished. (Page 174.)

At a GRAND ASSEMBLY, holden at James Citty the 4th day of September, 1632, the following acts were reenacted with slight verbal changes which are of no material consequence. These Acts are, therefore, here referred to by Act, number, and page reference, but are not here reprinted. The acts reenacted are as follows:

Act I.	Page 180 Hening.
Act II.	Page 180 Hening.
Act III.	Page 180 Hening.
Act IV.	Page 181 Hening.
Act V.	Page 181 Hening.
Act VI.	Page 181 Hening.
Act VII.	Pages 181, 182, Hening.
Act VIII.	Page 182 Hening.
Act IX.	Page 182 Hening.
Act X.	Pages 182, 183, Hening.
Act XI.	Page 183 Hening.
Act XII.	Page 183 Hening.
Act XIII.	Page 183 Hening. Slightly altered from Act XIII, p. 158.
Act XIV.	Pages 183, 184, Hening. Slightly altered from Act XIV, p. 159.
Act XV.	Pages 184, 185, Hening. Slightly altered from Act XIV, p. 159.
Act XVI.	Pages 184, 185, Hening. Slightly altered from Act XIV, p. 160.
Act XVII.	Page 185 Hening.
Act XLV.	Page 198 Hening.

A
GRAND ASSEMBLY

HOLDEN AT JAMES CITY THE FIRST DAY OF FEBRUARY, 1632-3

ACT II

AN ACT CONCERNINGE MYNISTERS' ALLOWANCE

THE whole bodie of the Assembly takinge into their consideration the allowance of the twentyeth calves, kidds, and piggs graunted unto the Mynisters in the 14th act in the Assembly holden on the 4th day of September last past, and made to endure for the terme of one whole yeare, then next ensuinge, for the better encouragement of the mynisters in their callinge, have thought fitt to continew the sayd 14th act in all parts and respects, untill the sessions of the next Assembly. (Page 207.)

ACT III

CONCERNINGE the payment of the dutie of 10 lb. tobacco to the mynisters appoynted by the 16th act of the Assembly holden the 4th day of September last past, It is thought fitt, That the sayd act be repealed so farr forth as concerneth the bringinge in of the sayd 10 lb. of tobacco unto appoynted places for that purpose; and in all other poynts to continue and remayne in full force and strength. And it is further ordered by the Assembly, That the sayd dutie of ten pounds of tobacco be payd to such whome the mynister shall appoynt at the severall stores aforesaid, before any other tobacco of any man's cropp be disposed of. (Page 207.)

ACT IV

AN ACT THAT THE MYNISTERS APPOYNT DEACONS IN REMOATE PLACES
TO READ COMMON PRAYER

In such places where the extent of the cure of any mynister is so large that he cannot be present himselfe on the Saboth dayes and other holydays, It is thought fitt, That they appoynt and allow mayntenance for deacons where any haveinge taken orders can be found for the readinge common prayer in their absence. (Page 208.)

ACTS

MADE BY THE
GRAND ASSEMBLY

HOLDEN AT JAMES CITY, THE 21ST AUGUST, 1633

ACT XIII

AN ACT TO REPEALE THE ALLOWANCE OF THE 20TH CALFE, KIDD, OR
PIGGE, TO THE MYNISTERS

WHEREAS by the Assembly held on the first day of February, 1632, the act intituled "An act concerninge the Mynisters' allowance,"

is onlie to continew untill the session of this present Assembly, It is now thought fitt, That the said act be fully repealed, voyd, and of none effect untill it shall be fittinge to re-establish the sayd act. And for such mynisters as have not this yeare, for the tyme past, taken the sayd tythes of the 20th calfe, kidd, or pigge, It is also ordered, That the composition which they have made for the same, shall be paid unto the said mynisters this ensuinge cropp, at the tyme when their tobacco and corne is due unto them. (Page 220.)

ATT A GRAND ASSEMBLY

6TH JANUARY, 1639—SR. FRANCIS WYATT, GOV.

ACT VII

HOW public charges and impositions is to be paid, vizt. ministers 10 lb. per poll to maintain himself, clk. and sexton; muster master gen'l. 3 lb.; capt. of the fort and ten guards, 3 lb. Two lbs. to be raised next year, to build a new fort at Point Comfort and 2 lb. more to build a state house. (Page 226.)

ACT XVIII

PLACES to be paled in to bury the dead in. (Page 227.)

ACT XX

CHURCH wardens to present to monthly courts, and the court is to inflict punishments if within their cognizance. (Page 227.)

ACT XXV

CHISKIACK to be a parish. (Page 228.)

ACT XXXII

LAWNS Creek made a parish. (Page 229.)

AT A GRAND ASSEMBLIE

HOLDEN AT JAMES CITY THE SECOND DAY OF MARCH, 1642-3

WHEREAS And for preventing all mistakes & pretenses, which may arise from misinterpretation or ignorance of the law's in force, It is therefore thought fitt, and accordingly enacted by the Governour, Council & Burgesses of this Grand Assembly and the authority acts and lawes of all former Assemblies be from repealed & made void. Such onely excepted, which are hereafter mentioned as followeth (vizt.)

ACT I

IN the first place Be it enacted for the advancement of God's glorie and the weale publique, that these orders & constitutions hereafter following concerning the Church government be and remaine in full power, force & vertue.

That there be a vestrie held in each parish, for the makeing of the leavies and assessments for such uses as are requisite & necessary for the repairing of the churches, &c. and that there be yearly chosen two or more churchwardens in every parish.

That: That the most sufficient and selected men be chosen and joyned to the minister and churchwardens to be of that Vestrie.

That: That there be a yearly meeting of the ministers & churchwardens before the comander & com'rs. of every county court in nature of a visitation according to the orders & constitutions of the church of England, which is there usually held every yeare after Christma's. [sic]

That: That there be an oath administered to the churchwardens that they deliver in a true presentment in writing of such misdemeanors as to their knowledge have been comitted the year before, whilst they have been churchwardens, namely, swearing, prophaning God's name, and his holy Sabboths, abusing his holy word and commandments, contemning his holy sacraments or any thing belonging to his service or worship.

That: If any person or persons of what degree or conditions soever shall abuse themselves with the high & foule offences of adultery, whoredome or fornication or with the loathsome sinne of drunkennes in the abuse of God's creatures, of those and every those to make a true presentment. (Page 240.)

That: That the littargie of the church of England for the administration of the word & sacrament, be duely performed according to the booke of common prayer, allowed by his Ma'tie & confirmed by consent of parliament.

That: That the churchwardens shall likewise at that time deliver upon their oaths a true account of all leavies, collections & disbursements as have been in their time concerning church affairs whereby all things concerning the same may be fairely carryed, And all collections so made to be paid by the churchwardens, according to the order for the ministers duties, & brought to the place appointed by the churchwardens for the time being.

That: That there be a true & perfect register kept in a booke & yearly presented at the said visitation of all weddings, christenings & burialls and that the clerke of every parish shall present to the commander of every monethly court a list of all weddings, christenings & burialls within their parish the present moneth.

That there be no marriage solemnized unless by a license under the signett from the Governour, or the banes lawfully published in the parish or parishes where both parties do inhabite.

That: That the said meeting or visitation be after the coming in of the new churchwardens & going out of the old, And that the old churchwardens be not discharged until they have given upp their presentment as aforesaid.

That: That there be a place sett out and allotted for the buriall of the dead in everie plantation according to the appointment of the commander & minister of the place.

That: That every minister have his clark and also sexton, for the keeping cleane of the churches, & other services in the absence of the ministers according to the canons of the church of England, & his or their meanes to be allowed by the parishoners.

That all freemen that are hired servants shall pay their own tithes and duties are to be collected per pol for the country service.

It is also enacted & confirmed, by the authority aforesaid that the vestrie of evrie parish with the allowance of the comander & com'rs. of the county living & resideing within the said parish, or the vestrie alone in case of their non residence shall from henceforward have power, to elect and make choyce of their ministers, And he or they so elected by the commander and comr's. or by the vestrie in case of non residence as aforesaid to be recommended and presented to the said comander and com'rs. or vestrie alone, to the Governour & so by him admitted, Provided that it shall be lawfull for the Governour for the time being to elect and admit such a minister as he shall allow of in James-Citty parish, And in any parish where the Governour & his successors shall have a plantation provided he or they enjoy not that privilege but in one parish where he or they have such a plantation, And upon the neglect or misbecomeing behaviour of the ministers, or any of them, compl't. thereof being made by the vestrie, The Governour & Council are requested so to proceed against such minister or ministers by suspension or other punishment as they shall think fitt & the offence require. Removeall of such ministers to be left to the Grand Assembly.

Be it further enacted and confirmed for the releife of diverse poore people that have been of very long continuance in the country, and are disabled to labor by reason of sickness, lamenes or age, The vestrie of everie parish are hereby enjoyned upon the complaint of such poor & unable persons to give them a certificate to the com'rs. of the county where such poore shall reside to testifie their poverty which shall free them from all publique charges except the ministers' & parish duties.

(To be Continued)

THE REVEREND ALEXANDER GARDEN

By Edgar Legare Pennington

II.

GARDEN'S FIRST TWENTY YEARS IN CHARLES TOWN

ALEXANDER GARDEN was born in Scotland, about 1685. Educated at the University of Aberdeen, he received his Master of Arts degree. He conformed to the Church of England; and became curate of the famous Barking Church, near the Tower of London. In 1719, he was sent to Charles Town, and was elected rector of St. Philip's Church. From the start, he displayed the qualities best calculated to win popular esteem and affection and to stamp him as a leader in the province.

About the time of his arrival, the people of South Carolina, dissatisfied with the proprietary government, put themselves under the immediate protection of the King. Colonel Francis Nicholson was appointed provisional governor in 1720. Governor Nicholson's instructions contained provisions that he see that God Almighty be devoutly and duly served throughout his government, the Book of Common Prayer being read each Sunday and holy day, and the blessed sacrament administered according to the rites of the Church of England. He should see that the churches be kept properly and additional ones built as required; that a proper maintenance be provided for the minister and a convenient house and glebe furnished him. The minister was to be a member of the vestry. Likewise, the jurisdiction of the Lord Bishop of London was to be maintained, except for the collating of benefices, granting of marriage licenses, and probate of wills; they were reserved for the Governor. Nicholson was a very ardent Anglican. In the different provinces which he served, he was industrious in promoting the established Church of the mother country; and South Carolina was no exception. He aided in forming new parishes, in building churches, and in procuring clergymen.

From 1717 to 1723, the commissary of the Bishop of London in South Carolina was the Reverend William Tredwell Bull of St. John's, Colleton. He was highly regarded; and was known as a courteous,

exemplary, and diligent man. When he returned home, he carried with him testimonials of his good character and he was given a good English benefice in recognition of his services.¹ Mr. Bull had complained of the lack of missionaries in the field; the few in harness were overworked and compelled to go long distances. Their salaries were small and irregular. Besides, the unwillingness of the parishioners to yield full possession of the parish to the clergymen left them in doubt and suspense concerning their livings.²

When Mr. Garden reached Charles Town, the new brick Church of St. Philip's was still incomplete. On the 9th of December, 1720, the Assembly passed an act for finishing the building. An additional duty was laid on rum, brandy, spirits, and negroes imported for sale, so as to promote the work.³ It is probable that the Church was not opened before 1727 or entirely completed until 1733.

The growing expenses of living had become a serious consideration. In 1722, the Assembly enacted a bill for advancing the salaries of the clergy. Under its terms, the rector of St. Philip's was due to receive £150 proclamation money, while the country clergy would receive £100. The ratio of the proclamation money to the pound sterling was roughly about four to five; therefore, Mr. Garden's stipend would amount to some £120 sterling and that of the other ministers would be about £80. The act further directed that parsonages be repaired at the expense of the parish; previously repairs had been done by the ministers or left undone. This law was the effect of Governor Nicholson's interest in the Church. The school was also the recipient of his good offices: he pledged that nothing in his power should be lacking for the promotion of the free school.

On the 10th of August, 1723, Commissary Bull forwarded to London an account of the Church in South Carolina and its clergy. That survey, which gives an authoritative picture of the current conditions, is of considerable value to the student of the period. The province was divided into thirteen parishes, which Mr. Bull proceeded to describe, along the line of the following synopsis.

1.

ST. PHILIP'S, CHARLES TOWN

300-400 Christian families. A new Church, not entirely finished. "A large, regular, and beautiful building, exceeding any that are in his Majesty's dominions in America." Mr. Garden in charge—"a learned and pious divine, but of a

¹Perry: *American Episcopal Church*, I., 385.

²Fulham MSS., S. C., #252; Stevens & Brown L. C. Trans.

³P. R. O., S. C., Board of Trade, VIII., f. 37; Public Records of S. C., XVIII., 22.

sickly and weak constitution." A grammar school under the Reverend Thomas Morritt, S. P. G., on an allowance of £30 sterling from the S. P. G. and £100 from the public treasury. The scholars pay three pounds per annum, proclamation money.

2.

ST. JAMES, GOOSE CREEK

Sixteen miles from Charles Town. "A rich and populous parish." The Church "neat and regular," but not large. A handsome parsonage.

3.

ST. ANDREW'S

Twelve miles from Charles Town. A "decent parsonage house" and glebe of twenty-five acres. A brick Church, being beautified, by £400 obtained from the public treasury and £500 by popular subscription.

4.

ST. GEORGE'S

Twenty-eight miles from Charles Town. "A large and populous parish." A "handsome brick Church." A parsonage, and a glebe of 250 acres.

5.

ST. JOHN'S

Twenty-five miles from Charles Town. "A large, populous, and rich parish." A "decent brick Church," lately adorned at the expense of the parishioners. A brick parsonage. A glebe of 300 acres.

6.

ST. THOMAS'S

"A large and populous parish." Two churches. Two glebes. No parsonage. The rector lives in his own house. The money appropriated for building the parsonage is accruing interest.

7.

ST. DENIS'S

French refugees, conforming to the Church of England.

8.

CHRIST CHURCH

"A large parish, but poor." A timber Church. Thirteen miles from Charles Town. A parsonage, and glebe of 100 acres.

(All eight of the above are in Berkley county.)

9.

ST. JAMES'S, SANTEE
(*Craven county.*)

Chiefly French refugees, conforming to the Church of England. About sixty miles from Charles Town. Parsonage, and glebe of nearly a thousand acres.

10.

KING GEORGE'S PARISH
(*Craven county.*)

A new settlement, about ninety miles from Charles Town. The Assembly has appropriated £1000 and Governor Nicholson has given £100 to build a Church, which is not begun.

11.

ST. PAUL'S
(*Colleton county.*)

"Sober, well inclined peopled, kind and obliging to their late minister, diligent in attending the word of God, and desirous of all good instruction." A brick Church, twenty miles from Charles Town. Too small; it is being enlarged. Glebe of seventy acres.

12.

ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S
(*Colleton county.*)

Vacant since 1715. Depopulated by the Indian war. Few have returned. No Church or parsonage. Glebe of 300 acres.

13.

ST. HELEN'S
(*Granville county.*)

No Church or parsonage. The Assembly allowed £1000 Carolina currency, and Governor Nicholson gave £100 towards building a Church. Depopulated by the Indian war. Many have returned.⁴

⁴*Fulham MSS., S. C., #277-278; Stevens & Brown L. C. Trans.*

Most of the parishes were filled by men sent over by the S. P. G. The white population in 1723 was about fourteen thousand; the coloured numbered some eighteen thousand.

Schools were by this time appearing in different parts of the province. More interest was taken in education by the people. We soon read of the Richard Beresford legacy in St. Thomas's Parish and the bequest of the Reverend Mr. Ludlam of Goose Creek. The latter left his estate of about £2000 to the S. P. G. for a school for the poor children of that parish.

When Mr. Bull went back to England, there was no commissary appointed till 1726. Then the choice fell upon the rector of St. Philip's; and Mr. Garden became commissary for North Carolina, South Carolina, and the Bahamas. Of all Bishop Gibson's commissaries, he proved the most energetic. He made a visitation almost every year. He examined the letters of orders and the licenses which his clergy held. He listened to complaints. He enforced the instructions he received from the Bishop with care and thoroughness. He transmitted accounts of his official proceedings to the Bishop of London, his chief, and to the Venerable Society. He was a fine disciplinarian, perhaps somewhat a stickler for formality. The serious view he took of his appointment is evinced by the way in which he sought to conduct trials with canonical form, the number of prosecutions which he undertook, and his efforts to rid the colony of unworthy and undesirable clergymen. When the Bishop of London sent him his commission, he forwarded instructions in Latin regarding the mode of proceeding against irregular clergymen within the American plantations;⁵ and Mr. Garden obeyed his directions conscientiously.

The archives of the S. P. G. and of the Bishop of London contain many letters and reports, signed by the commissary. A reading of them assures us that little of any moment escaped his watchful eye.

On the 20th of October, 1730, Mr. Garden held the first convention of the South Carolina clergy at Charles Town. His annual visitation, as the occasion was called, became a regular institution, and proved an inspiration to the scattered missionaries while affording them an opportunity to discuss their problems. The visitations were held every year until Mr. Garden resigned; then they were known as the "annual meetings of the clergy." At the first gathering of this sort, a program was followed which served as a model for subsequent visitations. The sessions began with a public service, at which one of the clergy preached. Then the credentials of the various ministers were examined. In Mr. Garden's talk, the first meeting, he recommended due pastoral care and watchfulness over the respective

⁵*Fulham MSS., S. C., #290; Stevens & Brown L. C. Trans.*

flocks; he enjoined them to exert themselves with the utmost vigour and diligence against the growing infidelity of the age. He had a time for hearing complaints.

As supervisor of the Church and representative of the Bishop of London, Mr. Garden's duties threw him in contact with prominent laymen, government officials, the members of the Assembly, and the different vestries of the colony. He found that it was true that the parishes habitually postponed electing the missionaries sent to them by the S. P. G.; that in some cases, they had kept the ministers waiting for years, uncertain of their position, even though their behaviour and abilities were unquestioned. Thus the clergy were carrying on their activities under a heavy strain—a real hardship, since they usually had large families. Mr. Garden contended that all missionaries who had served one year should insist on being elected to their parishes or have the objections in writing.⁶

The local parish work did not suffer through Mr. Garden's wider range of interests. In 1728, St. Philip's received a legacy of over £428 sterling; and the rector, wardens, and vestrymen agreed that an organ should be purchased for the new brick Church. The Bishop of London was asked to secure the advice of the organist of his Cathedral, or some other capable person, in regard to the purchase.⁷

On the 31st day of July, 1736, John and Charles Wesley appeared in Charles Town. Charles was on his way back to England; he had resigned his missionary work with Oglethorpe in Frederica. John afterwards went back to Savannah. In the Journal of John Wesley, we find the new St. Philip's described—"of brick, but plastered over like stone. I believe it would contain three or four thousand persons." At the morning service which he attended, there were about three hundred present; about fifty were at the holy communion. There were several negroes in the congregation; and one of them told John Wesley that her old mistress had many times instructed her in the Christian religion, but she did not understand it. Mr. Garden treated the Wesleys with courtesy; and John noted in his Journal his indebtedness to the commissary. The two brothers were comparatively obscure men at that time.

In April, 1737, John Wesley paid another visit to Garden. It was during the annual visitation; and Wesley met the clergy and was deeply impressed. He declared that there was among them for several hours such a conversation on "Christ our Righteousness" as he had not heard at any visitation in England, or hardly on any other

⁶*Fulham MSS., S. C., # 131-132; Stevens & Brown L. C. Trans.*

⁷*Fulham MSS., S. C., # 149; Stevens & Brown L. C. Trans.*

occasion. He preached two days later at Pompion Chapel, where he had opportunity to contrast the responsiveness of the South Carolina congregation with the indifference of his Georgia audiences. "O how will even those men of Carolina, who come eight, ten, or twelve miles to hear the Gospel, rise in judgment against those who hear it not, when it is preached at their own doors!" He found the Indians and negroes eager for instruction. One of them told him that if there was any Church within five or six miles, he was so lame that he could not walk; "but I would crawl thither."

While in Charles Town, Wesley arranged to have published a hymnal—the first Anglican hymnal printed in America. The title-page reads:—"A Collection of Psalms and Hymns, printed by Lewis Timothy, 1737."

When John Wesley escaped from Georgia, after his trying experience there, he was befriended by Mr. Garden. He regarded the commissary's kindness with much gratitude.

In spite of poor health, Garden laboured assiduously to elevate the tone of his clergy and to promote the welfare of his parishioners. When fourteen ministers met for the annual visitation of 1739, he reported:—"I bless God they all appear at present to behave in their respective charges in a diligent and regular manner; nor do I know of anything amiss concerning any of them."⁸

From August to October, 1739, there was great mortality in Charles Town. Mr. Garden had sometimes as many as twelve funerals a day, and as many sick persons to visit. The Reverend Robert Small, of Christ Church, went to the town to assist him, only to die the following week.⁹

Another set-back was the insurrection of the negroes in the heart of the English settlement. The negroes marched about, plundering, burning houses, and murdering the defenceless. The planters had to go to Church armed. There were in the colony about forty thousand African slaves.¹⁰

Mr. Garden had advocated a fair deal for the negroes, and he had urged their religious instruction. The rebellion made much of his effort ineffective.

There seemed to be no end of calamities. In 1740, a bad fire broke out in Charles Town. So great was the suffering that a solemn fast was observed on the 28th of November. Collections were taken

⁸*Fulham MSS., S. C., #265-266; Stevens & Brown L. C. Trans.*

⁹*Fulham MSS., N. C., S. C., Ga., #74; Stevens & Brown L. C. Trans.*

¹⁰*Winsor: Narrative & Critical History, V., 331.*

for the distressed, and the churches even outside Charles Town contributed liberally. The wardens of St. Philip's handled the funds.

In that year, forty-five per cent. of the inhabitants of Carolina were Episcopalians. The Presbyterians, French, and other Protestants numbered forty-two-and-a-half percent. The Baptists were a tenth, and the Quakers were a fortieth of the population.

MINUTES OF CONVENTIONS OF THE CLERGY OF CONNECTICUT FOR THE YEARS 1766, 1784, AND 1785

From the Jarvis Papers

With Notes by the Editor

THE printed Journals of the Conventions of the Diocese of Connecticut go back to the year 1792. So far as was known these were the earliest records of the Conventions. In examining the papers of the Reverend Abraham Jarvis, for very many years secretary of the diocese, and later Bishop, the Minutes of the Conventions for the years 1766, 1784, and 1785 have come to light. They are here presented in the form of the original records.

Minutes of Convention of Clergy of Connecticut Held at Wallingford, Connecticut, May 28, 1766

May it please your Lordship,¹

We the Clergy of the Chh. of England in Connecticut, in a voluntary Convention, beg leave with all Humility to recommend Mr. Abraham Beach, to Your Lordship, as a proper Candidate for Holy Orders.

He has been educated in Yale College in this Colony, has rec^d a Degree of Master of Arts, and made as good proficiency in Learning as can be expected in this Country. He is well affected to the Constitution in Chh. and State, and is of full Age for Holy Orders: And if Your Lordship, upon Examination, finds him qualified for Holy Orders; we beg he may be admitted thereto.

We understand the Rev^d Mr. Beach² will give him a Sufficient Title.

Next Convention to be at N. Haven on y^d Wednesday in Oct.—

Mr. Newton to preach.³

Mr. Scovil if in case of failure.⁴

M. S. and Diblee⁵ to go to the Jersey—

¹*The Bishop of London.*

²*Rev. John Beach of Newtown.*

³*Rev. Christopher Newton of Ripton.*

⁴*Rev. James Scovil of Waterbury.*

⁵*Rev. Ebenezer Diblee of Stamford.*

FRAGMENT

On the back of this paper is written:

1. Voted; That a Letter be wrote to the Bishop of London to acquaint him concerning the Conduct of y^e Chhs. in these difficut times: and also concerning y^e taking away Children from the God Fathers.

2. That we are very desirious to unite with y^e Clergy of New Y. and y^e Jersies.

Minutes of Con: Held at New Milford Wed: Trin: Week, 1784

At a Convention of the Clergy of the Church of England of Connecticut holden at New Milford June 8, 1784—at the Rev^d Mr. Clarke's

Tuesday Even—Present

Rev^d Messe^{rs} Jer: Leaming
Rich^d Mansfield
Roger Veits¹
A. Jarvis
Rich^d Clarke
Gideon Bostwick
J. R. Marshall—

This Convention open'd and Rev^d Mr. Leaming was chosen president—Mr. Fog,² who was appointed at the last Con: to preach the Sermon before this Con: not being arrived, it was thot desirable in case of his Failure, to appoint a Preacher in his place. The Rev^d Mr. L—g was accordingly chosen to preach the Sermon tomorrow, before the Con—

Mr. Jarvis was appointed to read prayers in the Morning, and if there a 2nd Sermon desired, to preach in the afternoon. (Insert—Mr. Jarvis being unwell, Mr. Bostwick read in the Morn'g.)

Mr. Bostwick was appointed to read prayers—Afternoon—Mr. Moore preached & Mr. Bloomer read prayers.

The Committee appointed to carry into Executⁿ the Vote of Conventⁿ at Wallingford in Jan^y last, made th^r Report to this Conventⁿ of w^t they had done and read the letter they had written to Dr. S—y,³ whh was approved by the Conv: then the Conv: was adjourned by the Presid^t to Wed:

Wed: Morn: Rev^d Mr. Beach⁴ from N. Jersey, and Rev^d Mr. Bloomer⁵ & Moore⁶ from N. York, arrived, & joined this Conventⁿ—which met, and proceeded to Church—after Morn'g. Service, Notice was given that there would be Service

¹Rev. Roger Veits (Yale) was born about 1737. He was missionary at Simsbury, Conn., from 1763 to 1783. During the Revolution he was imprisoned in Hartford jail and put in irons. He withdrew to Nova Scotia in 1784.

²Rev. Daniel Fogg (Harvard, 1764) was appointed to Pomfret in 1772.

³Samuel Seabury, who was in England seeking consecration.

⁴Rev. Abraham Beach.

⁵Rev. Joshua Bloomer, rector of Grace Church, Jamaica, Long Island.

⁶Rev. Benjamin Moore, then Assistant Minister of Trinity Parish, New York.

in the Afternoon & Sermon w^d be prach'd by the Rev^d Mr. Moore—

Wed: Even. Con: was opened, and the Thanks of the Con: was returned to Mr. L—g & Mr. Moore for their excell^t Sermons this day delivered before them—

The Practice of the Candidates in constantly deliver^g their own Compositions, when they read divine Service, was considered, & the conven: came to this Resolution—that they do not approve of the Candidates deliver^g Sermons of their own compos: oftener than once in a Quarter of a Year, and that they be previously inspected & approved by a Clergyman—and further that this Con disapprove of the Candidates leaving the read^g Desk in any part of the Service they perform in public—and that each Candidate be furnished with a Copy of this Resolution—

Convention adjourned by the President to Thursday Morn^g.

Thursd: Convent: opened, and entered upon Business—

Messrs. Beach, Bloomer & Moore, as a Committee from a Conventⁿ of the Clergy of Pennsylvania, N. Jersey, N. York, held at New Brunswick, to this Convention, communicated the purport of their particular Business, which was to invite this Con. to enter into a Correspondence with them, for the setting a Uniformity in y^e Epis: Chh, & to meet them in a Conventⁿ proposed to be holden at N. Y. on the Tuesday after the Feast of S. Michael.⁸

To whh this Con: agreed, and appointed Messrs L—g (Leaming), M—d (Mansfield) and J—v (Jarvis), the committee to form a Plan, for such Settlement, and to report the same to the Conven: that will be held at N. H. the Time of the Commencement in Septem^r—

Then it was agreed to, that our next annual Conven: sh^d be at the Rev^d Bostwick in G. Barrington: and Mr. M—d was appointed to preach the Conven: Sermon: in case Mr. Fogg, and Mr. Dibble who stand the next Preachers by a former appointment sh^d both fail in th^r Attend—e And then this Conven: was adjourned by the President.

A. Jarvis,
Secretary.

⁷In May, 1784, advantage was taken of a gathering of clergy in New Brunswick, N. J., to confer informally on the organization of the American Church. At this meeting it was determined to consider the matter further at a meeting to be held later in New York.

⁸The New York meeting was held in October, 1784, when Connecticut was represented by the Rev. John R. Marshall. At this meeting certain fundamental principles for the organization of the Church were drafted. Mr. Marshall reported that Connecticut "had taken measures for the obtaining of the Episcopate; that until their design . . . in that particular should be accomplished, they could do nothing; but that as soon as they should have succeeded, they would come forward with their Bishop, for the doing of what the general interests of the Church might require." (White. *Memoirs of the Church*, 2nd ed., p. 81.)

Minutes of Convention Held at Middletown, August 2, 1785

NOTE.—This was the first Convention attended by Samuel Seabury after his consecration as Bishop of Connecticut. The Minutes have not hitherto been published in their original form.

Aug^t 2, 1785

At a Convent^a of the Clergy of the Chh. of England at Middleton, present,

Rev^d Mess^{rs} Leaming¹
 Mansfield²
 Scovil³
 Andrews⁴
 Hubbard⁵
 Jarvis⁶
 Bowden⁷
 Clarke⁸
 Bostwick⁹
 Tyler¹⁰

Mess^{rs} Ben: Moore from New York¹¹ & Mr. Parker¹² from Boston joined us.

The Conven. was opened and the Rev. M^r Leaming was chosen president.

The right reve^d Dr. S. Seabury attended upon this Con. and his Letters of Consec: being requested by the same; they were produced and read, whereby it appeared to this Con: that he hath been duly & canonically consecrated a Bishop by the Bishops of the Epis: Chh: in Scotland.

Aug^t 3^d

8 o'clock A. M. Conven: met. after the Address of the Cler: to the Bishop was reconsidered by the Conven: & approved, the Clergy repaired to the Chh. and appointed 4 of their Body to return to the parsonage, & Mr. Jarvis, in the name of the Clergy, declared to the Bp. their Confirmat^a of their former Election of him, & that they now acknowledg^d & rec^d him their Bp.

Then the Bp. return'd his Answ^r of Acceptance & pro-

¹Rev. Jeremiah Leaming.

²Rev. Richard Mansfield (Yale, 1745), missionary at Derby, Conn.

³Rev. James Scovil (Yale, 1757), missionary at Waterbury, Conn.

⁴Rev. Samuel Andrews (Yale), missionary at Wallingford, Conn.

⁵Rev. Bela Hubbard.

⁶Rev. Abraham Jarvis, Secretary of the Convention and later second Bishop of Connecticut.

⁷Rev. John Bowden, rector at Norwalk, Conn.

⁸Rev. Richard Samuel Clarke (Yale), missionary at New Milford, Conn.

⁹Rev. Gideon Bostwick (Yale, 1762), missionary at Great Barrington, Conn.

¹⁰Rev. John Tyler (Yale), missionary at Norwich, Conn.

¹¹Rev. Benjamin Moore, later second Bishop of New York.

¹²Rev. Samuel Parker, rector of Trinity Church, Boston, Mass., and later Bishop of Massachusetts.

ceeded with them to the Chh—Being introduced into Chh. & seated in his Chair in the Altar. the Cler at the Rails; their address to him was read by Mr. Hubbard, after whh the Bp. read his Answer—and gave the Apostolical Blessing—then the Clergy retired to th^r pews. And the Bp. began D. Service wh y^e Litany, accord^g to the Rubrick in the Office for Ordination of Deacons: The four follow^g persons, Mess^{rs} Vandyke, Shelton,¹³ Baldwin,¹⁴ of Connec. & Mr. Fergusson¹⁵ of Maryland, being present to be admitted into the Order of Deacons—

The Litany being ended, Mr. Bowden read the first Commun^a Service. The Bishop then read the Service, consecrated the Elements & administered the Bread, Mr. Bowden assisted by administering the Cup. The Commun^a finished, the Bp. then proceeded to the Ordination. Mr. Jarvis officiated as ArchDeacon—after the Ordinat^a a Sermon was preached by the Rev^d Mr. Leaming.¹⁶ The Congregat^a was dismiss'd by the Bp.—from Chh. the Clergy preceeded by the Bp returned to the parsonage. Mr. Jarvis by order of the Conven: gave the thanks of the same to Mr. Leaming for his Sermon delivered before them, with their desire of a copy of it to be printed.

The Bp. then dissolv'd the Convent^a, & directed the Clergy to meet him at 5 o'clock in Convocation—They met accordingly, & the Convocat^a was adjourned to the next Morn^g Thursday 9 o'Clock—A. M.

Thursd^y 4th—Met—at 11 o'clock A. M. went to Chh.

¹³Rev. Philo Shelton was born at Ripton, Connecticut, May 5, 1754, and graduated from Yale in 1775. He pursued his theological studies under the direction of the Rev. James Scovil of Waterbury, and during that time acted as lay reader. On February 24th, 1785, he was called to the three parishes of Fairfield, North Fairfield and Stratfield (now Bridgeport), with the stipulation that he should receive for his maintenance "one hundred pounds, lawful silver money, together with the use and improvement of a piece of land lying in Fairfield, at a place called the Round Hill, consisting of about 8 acres." (Sprague. *Annals of the American Pulpit*, Vol. V, pp. 349-352.) Mr. Shelton was several times a deputy to the General Convention, and served as secretary to the House of Bishops in 1811. He labored in the one sphere for forty years, and died February 22nd, 1825, aged seventy years. Bishop Brownell said of him: "For simplicity of character, amiable manners, unaffected piety, and a faithful devotion to the duties of his ministerial office, he has left an example by which all of his surviving brethren may profit, and which few of them can hope to surpass." (Beardsley. *History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut*, Vol. II, pp. 256-7.)

¹⁴Ashbel Baldwin, who graduated from Yale in 1776, was born at Litchfield, Connecticut, March 7, 1757. After serving in the Continental Army, he became rector of St. Michael's, Litchfield, and in 1793 of Christ Church, Stratford, where he remained till 1824. Then he officiated from time to time in various places and retired in 1832. He died at Rochester, New York, in 1846, in his eighty-ninth year.

¹⁵Colin Ferguson was a native of Kent County, Maryland, where he was born December 8, 1751. He was educated at the University of Edinburgh, Scotland. In 1783 he became a professor in the Washington College, Maryland, and ten years later was elected principal. At his ordination he was licensed to "perform the office of a priest in the Church of Christ, particularly in St. Paul's parish, in Kent County, in the State of Maryland." He died March 10th, 1806, in his fifty-fifth year.

¹⁶This was the first ordination in the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.

Mr. Parker read prayers, and Mr. Moore preach^d a Sermon. after which the Bp delivered a Charge to the Clergy—

P. M. Mr. Parker communicated to the Convocatⁿ the purport of his Delegation from the Clergy in the State of Massachusetts; viz to collect the Sentiments of the Connect^t Clergy in respect of Dr. Seabury's episcopal Consecratⁿ, the Regulat^{ns} of his episcopal Jurisdictⁿ, and their thots of connecting themselves with them, under his Episcopal Charge. The Clergy of Conn: expressed th^r warmest Wishes for the Union & concurrence of th^r Breth^m in Massachusetts und^r Bp. Seabury—

Frid^y 5th. After appointing Mr. Bowden, Mr. Parker & Mr. Jarvis as a Committee to consider of & make some Alterat^{ns} in the Liturgy needful for the present Use of the Chh, the Conventⁿ adjourned to meet agⁿ at New Haven in Sept^r—

Sund^y 7. Mr. Colin Ferguson was ordain'd priest, Mr. Parker, Mr. Bowden & Mr. Jarvis attended the Ordinatⁿ as presbyters. Mr. Thom^s Fitch Oliver,¹⁷ from Providence, Rhode Island, was ordain'd Deacon on the same Day—

ORDER OF SERVICE

The following mem of the Order of Service is appended to the paper containing the Minutes of the Convention:

1. at 10. the Clerg: proceed to Chh.
2. 4 Cler: deputed to acquaint Bp. S. of y^e of Cler: do now Confirm the form^r Electⁿ—to recognize him as th^r Bp.
3. 2 Cler: to return wh his ans^r of Acceptance the other two follow after wh the Bp—
4. the presid^t y^e Add of y^e Clergy at the Altar—
5. the Bp. return his Ans^r—
6. The Cler:, kneeling receive the apostolic Bless^g—
7. The Bp. proceed to the Litany.
8. Mr. Bowden read the first Communⁿ Service.
9. the Sermon.
10. the Offertory & Adminis^{tn} by the Bp—
11. Ordinatⁿ.

Then follows what is evidently the promise of Conformity made by the candidates for Ordination:

I N. M. do delare that the Book of Common Prayer, & Ordering of Bishops, Priests, & Deacons, of the Church of England, contains in it nothing contrary to the Word of God, & that it may lawfully be so used; & that I myself will,

¹⁷Thomas Fitch Oliver was born at Salem, Mass., in 1749 and graduated from Harvard in 1775. After serving as a Congregational minister at Pelham, Mass., he joined the Church and was a lay reader at St. John's, Providence, till the close of the War of the Revolution. In 1786 he became rector of St. Michael's, Marblehead, Mass., till 1791, when he went to Johnstown, N. Y. In 1795 he was elected rector of St. Thomas', Baltimore County, Maryland. He died there on January 25th, 1797, at the age of forty-eight.

so far as shall be consistent with the alteration necessary to be made on account of the civil constitutions of the State in which I shall live, use the form in the said book prescribed, in Public prayer, & administration of the Sacraments, and none other, unless in Obedience to competent ecclesiastical Authority; And I do make & subscribe this declaration willingly & *ex animo* & in the presence of Alm. God do promise to observe it faithfully.

M. S. record of the Address of the Clergy of Connecticut presented to Bishop Samuel Seabury at the Convention of the Clergy held at Middletown, Connecticut, August 3rd, 1785; together with the reply of the Bishop to the same. (Jarvis Papers.)

TO THE RIGHT REVER^D FATHER IN GOD SAMUEL BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE BISHOP OF CONNECTICUT

THE ADDRESS OF THE EPISCOPAL CLERGY OF THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT IN CONVENTION ASSEMBLED

Rev^d Father We the Subscribers for ourselves & other Presbyters of the Chh of England embrace with pleasure this early opportunity of congratulating you on your safe return to your native country & on the accomplishment of that arduous enterprise in whh at our desire you engaged.

Devoutly do we adore & reverently thank the great head of the Chh that he has been pleased to preserve you thro' a long & dangerous voyage, that he has crowned your endeavours with success & now at last permits us to enjoy, under you, the long & ardently desired blessing of a pure valid & free Episcopacy. A Blessing which we receive as the precious gift of God himself; & humbly hope that the work which he has so auspiciously begun he will confirm and prosper, & make it a real benefit to our Church not only in this State, but in all the American States in general by uniting them in doctrine, discipline, & worship; by supporting the cause of Christianity against all its opposers, & by promoting piety, peace, concord & mutual affection among all denominations of Christians— Whatever can be done by us, for the promotion of so good a work, shall be done with united attention, & the exertion of our best abilities—& as you are now, by our voluntary & united Suffrages, signified first to you, at New York in April, 1783, by the Rev^d Mr. Jarvis, & now ratified & Confirmed in this present Convention, elected Bp. of that branch of the Catholic & Apostolical Church in Connecticut, to which we belong, We, in the presence of Almighty God, declare to the world that we do unanimously & voluntarily accept, & receive & recognize you to be our Bishop, Supreme in the government & administration of all Ecclesiastical Offices in our Church.

And we do solemnly engage to render you all that re-

spect, duty & submission, which we believe do belong & are due to your high office: & which as we understand, were given by the Presbyters to their Bishops in the Primitive Church, while in her native purity, she was unconnected with, & uncontrolled by any secular power.

The Experience of many years had convinced the whole body of the clergy, & many of the Laymembers of our Communion, of the necessity there was of resident bishops among us. Fully & publicly was our cause pleaded, & by such arguments as must have carried conviction to the minds of all candid & liberal. they were however, for reasons which we unable to assign, neglected by our superiors in England. Many of those arguments had been drawn from our being members in the national Church, & Subjects of the British Government. These of course lost their force, upon the separation of this country from great Britain, by the late peace. Our case thereby became more desperate, & our spiritual necessities much increased. Filial affection induced us still to place confidence in our parent Church & country, whose Liberal benevolence we had experienced & do gratefully acknowledge. to this Church was our immediate application directed, earnestly requesting a Bishop to collect, govern & continue our scattered, wandering & sinking Church. And great was, & still continues to be our surprise, that a request so reasonable in itself, so congruous to the nature of government of that church, & so absolutely necessary in the Church of Christ as they & we believe it to be, should be refused. We hope that the successors of the Apostles in the Church of England have sufficient reasons to justify themselves to the world & to God; we however no of none such, nor can our imagination frame any.

But blessed be God! another door was opened for you. In the mysterious economy of his Providence he had preserved the remains of the old Episcopal Church of Scotland, under all the malice & persecutions of its enemies. In the school of adversity its pious & venerable Bps. had learned to renounce the pomps & grandeur of the world, & were ready to do the work of their heavenly father. As outcasts they pitied us; as faithful holders of the Apostolical Commission, what they had freely received they freely gave. From them we have received a valid, & purely ecclesiastical Episcopacy, & are thereby made complete in all our parts, & have our right to be considered as a living, & we hope thro God's grace shall be, a vigorous branch of the Catholic Church.

To these venerable Fathers our sincerest thanks are due; & they have them most fervidly—May the Almighty be their rewarder, regard them in mercy, support them under the persecutions of their enemies, & turn the hearts of their persecutors, & make their simplicity & godly sincerity to be known unto all men! And wherever the Ameri-

can Episcopal Church shall be mentioned in the world, may this good deed wh they have done for us be spoken of for a memorial of them.*

REPLY OF BISHOP SEABURY TO THE FOREGOING ADDRESS

Rev^d & highly esteemed Gentlemen

I heartily thank you for your kind congratulations on my safe return to my native country, & Join with you in joy & thanks to Alm God for the success of y^e important business which your application excited me to undertake. May God enable us to do every thing wth a view to his glory & the good of his Church.

Accept of my acknowledgements for the Assurances you give of exerting your best abilities to promote the welfare of, not only our own Church, but of common Christianity & the peace & mutual affection of all denominations of Christians. I shall most certainly be very apprehensive of sinking under the weight of that high office to which I have been, under God's providence, raised by your voluntary & free Election—did I not assure myself of your ready advise & assistance in the discharge of its important duties—grateful therefore must be to me the assurances of supporting the Authority of your Bp. upon the true principles of the primitive Church, before it was controlled and corrupted by secular connections & worldly policy. Let me intreat your prayers to our supreme head for the continual assistance of his holy Spirit, that I may in all things fulfil his holy will—

The surprise you express at the rejection of your application in England is natural. But where the ecclesiastical & civil constitution are so closely woven together, the first characters in the church for station & merit may find their good dispositions rendered ineffectual by the intervention of the civil authority. And whether it is better to submit quietly to this state of Affairs in England or to risque that confusion whh would probably ensue sh^d an Amendment be attempted, demands some consideration.

The Sentiments you entertain of the venerable Bpps. in Scotland is highly (pleasing) to me. Their Conduct thro the whole business was candid, friendly & Christian, appearing to me to arise from a true sense of duty & to be founded in & conducted by the true principles of the primitive Apostolical Church. And I hope you will join with me in manifestations of Gratitude to them by always keeping up the most intimate Communion with them & their suffering Church.

*(ED. NOTE.—*There is strong internal evidence that the draft of this Address was the work of the Rev. Jeremiah Leaming.*)

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THE BEGINNINGS OF THE CHURCH IN COLORADO*

By E. Clowes Chorley

IN the year 1858 rumors of the discovery of gold on the plains brought a few adventurers into what is now Colorado. A larger number came the following year and settled in a camp where Denver now stands. Up to 1861 the country was a part of Kansas and was known as Pike's Peak and Jefferson. Early in 1861 it was admitted as a territory of the United States.

Early in 1860 the Rev. John H. Kehler,† for some years rector of Sharpsburg, Maryland, determined to go west. Undeterred by advancing years, his hair whitened by many winters, he ventured on the long and difficult journey to the new country. At Topeka, Kansas, he left the last outpost of the Church and travelled the six hundred and fifty miles to Denver across the plains infested by hostile Indians. There he held the first service on January 20, 1860. He found that "A large portion of the community is composed of enterprising gentlemen who give unmistakable evidence of their respect for our ministry and appreciation of the Church." St. John's in the Wilderness was organized on January 17th. Mr. Kehler writes:

"Denver City, my present place of residence, lies at the foot of the Rocky Mountains, distant 750 miles from Leaven-

**Copyrighted.*

†Mr. Kehler was ordered Deacon by Bishop Whittingham of Maryland on August 22, 1841. For several years he was missionary in Alleghany County, Maryland, and prior to moving to Denver was rector of St. Paul's Church, Sharpsburg, and missionary in Washington County, both in Maryland.

worth City, Kansas. The nearest clergyman of our Church is the Rev. C. M. Galloway, of Topeka, distant 700 miles.

We have succeeded in organizing a congregation here, which with the blessing of God, promises to do well. We have received a donation from the town company of sixteen lots, on which we intend erecting an Episcopal Church and parsonage in the course of the summer. The church is to be of the Gothic order, of sufficient dimensions to seat about 400 persons. It is to be styled 'St. John's in the Wilderness.'

Jan. 29 we inaugurated services in Denver City. Then for the first time, without doubt, since the Creation, were the solemn and befitting words uttered here: 'The Lord is in His holy temple; let all the earth keep silence before Him.' It did my heart good, while listening to the loud and animated responses of the congregation as we proceeded in the service.

Since then, I have held services every Sunday and feel encouraged to believe that the blessing of heaven will attend our feeble efforts. The congregation is self-supporting, and looks for no aid from abroad in the erection of the church."*

In April the services were transferred to a board shanty with no floor. A layman writes:

"Our seats were rough boards set on blocks sawed off from logs, with no backs to the same; our desk, a table made by boring holes through a rough plank; our rector's chair, a three-legged stool. We have kept progressing until we are in a comfortable wooden building, with floor, seats for 100 persons, a completed chancel and a desk; also a robe in which our rector officiates, stoves, &c."†

Fifteen hundred dollars were subscribed for a church and Mr. Kehler was supported by fifteen subscriptions of five dollars per month and the offerings. He stated that there were not fifty Prayer Books in the entire country.

Outside Denver the "mining region" was an extensive district running from New Mexico on the south, through Colorado and up into Mexico. Around Central City, in a group of mining towns, there was a population of over 5,000, not a few of whom were church people eager for the ministrations of their own Communion. The population was increased by the discovery of silver in the mountains. Writing to the Domestic Committee in 1861, Mr. Kehler says:

"I entered upon my duties here upwards of twelve months ago, and by the blessing of the Great Head of the Church, have succeeded in collecting an interesting and growing congregation. We feel, however, much hindered

**Church Journal*, 1860, p. 115.

†*Spirit of Missions*, 1861, p. 132.

in our work for the want of Prayer Books. Our object in addressing you is to learn whether it is not in your power to aid us in having this want supplied. I know of no point where aid in this matter would be attended with more beneficial results. This Territory forms one of the largest and most interesting fields of missionary labor that I have yet seen, and I conceive that the prospects for establishing the establishment of the Church are most encouraging.

In addition to my labors in Denver, I occasionally hold service in the gold region, in the vicinity of Pike's Peak. Mountain City, Central City, and Missouri City are distant forty-odd miles from this place. On all occasions of religious services at these points, there are large and attentive congregations; and at times the church is filled to its utmost capacity; but in this entire region you could not, in all probability, find more than half a dozen Prayer Books. Dear brother, you would aid in the accomplishment of a good work, and greatly oblige the Rector and Vestry of 'S. John's in the Wilderness,' by securing a grant of five or six dozen Prayer Books, a similar number of Testaments, and a Library for the use of our Sunday-school."

In the year 1859 the Reverend Joseph C. Talbot of Indianapolis* was elected Missionary Bishop of the North-west in succession to Bishop Jackson Kemper, and was consecrated early the following year. His vast territory included Nebraska, North and South Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, Idaho, Colorado, Utah, New Mexico and Nevada. Officially his jurisdiction was declared to be "all the territory within the United States not embraced within the jurisdiction of some other Bishop," and he laughingly called himself "the Bishop of all Outdoors."

After looking over his Nebraska work and laying foundations there, he set out for the mountains and arrived in Denver on August 5th, 1861, and the following Sunday preached in St. John's and confirmed seven persons, the first fruits of the Church in Colorado. The Bishop writes:

"The labors of the Rev. Mr. Kehler, in this place, have been greatly blessed. The first service had been held only eighteen months before my visit, and now I found a large room, comfortably fitted up with chancel, desk, pulpit, &c., and quite filled by a congregation of intelligent and apparently earnest worshippers. At the evening service, even

*Joseph C. Talbot was born at Alexandria, Va., September 5, 1816. Baptized at Christ Church, Louisville, Ky., in 1837. Deacon, September 5, 1846, and Priest, September 6, 1848, by Bishop B. B. Smith of Kentucky. After serving as rector of St. John's, Louisville, he became in 1853 rector of Christ Church, Indianapolis. 1859 elected Missionary Bishop of the North-west. Consecrated February 16, 1860. In 1865 he was elected Assistant Bishop of Indiana. He died January 15, 1883.

the side walks were full of people who could not find room within the house. A fine melodeon and a well-trained choir added not a little to the interest of the service. Should the country prosper, this must be a parish of great importance."

During his visit Bishop Talbot spent several days in the mining region outside Denver. He preached at Idaho, Spanish Bar, Central City, and Golden City. He found "intelligent members of our Communion, who cordially welcomed me among them, and expressed the earnest hope that, now the Church had sent them a chief shepherd, he might be able to establish Mission stations within their reach, and provide for their spiritual wants." He was especially impressed with the need for a missionary at Central City, in the neighborhood of which was a population of five thousand souls. Writing a little later, Mr. Kehler says:

"We need more ministers out here. In many towns the Church could be established, and her solemn and impressive services introduced with the utmost facility. But alas! in this vast country, extending from the Missouri River, a distance of nearly seven hundred miles, to the base of the Rocky Mountains, and South to the Mexican line, I am the only Episcopal clergyman. . . . It seems our ministers dread the distance, and apprehend danger from the tribes of Indians along the route."

Some idea of the extent of territory may be gathered from the fact that Mr. Kehler travelled two hundred and fifty miles to Fort Wise to officiate at a wedding, taking twelve days to cover the distance there and back.

In 1862 Bishop Talbot made his second visit to Denver. The parish was vacant, Mr. Kehler having been called to his post as chaplain to the First Regiment of Colorado Volunteers, then stationed in New Mexico.* The effect of his work was thus summarized: "Through the influence of the Church, Denver City has been changed from a community where vice and immorality in every form walked the streets in open day, into a God-fearing, God-serving population, that would compare favorably with any Eastern city."

The arrival of the Bishop put new life and energy into a congregation discouraged by the loss of its much-loved minister. Under his leadership the Chapel of the Southern Methodists, the only place of worship in the city, was purchased for \$2,500, the congregation con-

**After his term of military service ended Mr. Kehler returned to Denver, rendering such service as his health permitted until 1876, when he removed to Washington, where he died February 21st, 1879.*

tributing \$1,000. It was consecrated by Bishop Talbot on Sunday, July 20, 1862. He writes of the service, "A densely crowded congregation, filling not only every seat, but packing the aisles and vestibule, and every available place, testified to the interest of many outside of the communion of the Church. This being the only Protestant place of worship in Denver." The Bishop lectured for a week on the doctrines of the Church, as a result of which seven were confirmed. Pending the selection of a Rector, the Rev. Isaac A. Hagar, of Nebraska, was placed in charge of the parish.

On this occasion the Bishop made his second visit to the mountains. At Golden City he found five church families, confirmed two persons, and conducted a service at Colorado City in a small room which was quite full. During his Sunday at Central City he administered the Holy Communion to ten. Within the next few days a sufficient sum of money had been subscribed to warrant the calling of a minister and the organization of St. Paul's parish. The following year the Rev. Francis Granger* arrived. A store was converted into a chapel and the lower part of the building was fitted for a school under charge of Mrs. Granger.

In the fall of 1862 the Rev. Horace B. Hitchings† rode across the 600 miles of plains from Atchison, Kansas, to take up the work at Denver, arriving on Advent Sunday. Writing of Denver as he found it, he said, "It is a town—city, I should say, of between 4,000 and 5,000 inhabitants, and increasing constantly. It is three years of age, a mere child as yet, but very precocious. One would suppose that it is at least fifteen or twenty years old, were it not for the tell-tale shingles on the roof-tops, which, in spite of all the winds and weathers, will persist in looking very white and new." He describes the parish as young, but strong and hearty, and adds, "we have a nice brick edifice, but far too small to accommodate all who wish to attend." The next year the building was enlarged to seat over 300 and was reopened by the Bishop on August 16, 1863, when Mr. Hitchings was instituted as Rector. A parsonage of two rooms was added. Mr. Kehler was present at the service, and turning to him, the Bishop said, "Did you, could you have expected that in so short a time God would have caused the seed you sowed in faith and prayer to spring up and show such promise of fruit as you see today?" and tears of gratitude and thankfulness rolled down the old man's cheeks.

**Francis Granger was ordered Deacon by Bishop McIlwaine of Ohio on August 21, 1853. In 1856 he was rector of St. Andrew's, Elyria, and missionary at Penfield and Oberlin, Ohio, and from 1859 to 1862 missionary at Westfield and Mayville, Chautauqua County, New York.*

†*Horace Baldwin Hitchings was ordained Deacon by Bishop John Williams of Connecticut on June 7, 1857. Prior to coming to Denver, he was rector of St. Stephen's, East Haddam, Connecticut.*

In 1863 the Rev. W. O. Jarvis of Niagara Falls, New York, became the missionary at Idaho City and Gold Dirt, small mining towns. Services were held in dancing halls and log houses, where the seats were unplanned planks, and the pulpit a pine table surmounted by a candle box, but the responses "were better than one could expect." Mr. Jarvis greatly needed a pony to make his rounds of visits, but regretfully concluded that such a luxury was impossible, as hay was eighty dollars a ton and corn four and a half dollars a bushel.

At two o'clock on the morning of Sunday, April 19, 1863, a disastrous fire broke out in Denver, destroying the business section and resulting in a loss of a million and a half dollars. The church escaped.

In 1865 Bishop Talbot was elected Assistant Bishop of Indiana. On the 28th of December the Rev. George Maxwell Randall of Boston was consecrated Missionary Bishop of Colorado with jurisdiction in Wyoming, Montana, and Idaho. Two years later Montana and Idaho were created a new missionary district and New Mexico was given to Bishop Randall.*

Bishop Randall arrived in Denver on June 11, 1866. The only two clergymen in the territory were Mr. Hitchings at Denver and Mr. Jennings at Central City. After officiating at St. John's in the Wilderness, he set out on his first visitation to the "mountains." He thus describes conditions of travel:

"Not a mile of navigable river nor a rod of railroad. I have a couple of ponies and a covered wagon; with these I travel up and down the mountains and over the prairies. The wagon answers for a tent, when night overtakes me, where the accommodations in the log cabin do not allow of extra lodgers, or where there does not happen to be a cabin at all. Since the first of June I have travelled upwards of 800 miles, chiefly in mountainous parts, and almost entirely in my own conveyance."†

His experiences were many and varied. At Buckskin he preached in a little log cabin; at Beckenridge in a grocery store where candles were too scarce to enable the people to read the responses; frequently services had to be held in bar-rooms and ranches. In describing one journey he says, "Sunset the following day at cattle ranch where was food but no lodging, so we slept in the wagon and our sleep would have been very sweet but for the bellowing of the cattle, the cackling

*Bishop Randall was born at Warren, R. I., in 1810 and graduated from Brown University in 1835. In his earlier years he was a Baptist. He was ordained Deacon by Bishop Griswold on July 17, 1838, and priested the following year. His first charge was at Fall River, Massachusetts, after which he became rector of the Church of the Messiah, Boston. He was consecrated in Trinity Church, Boston.

†*Spirit of Missions*, 1867, p. 753.

of geese, the barking of dogs, and the shrill voice of an old lady who with her friends was camping a few yards off." He adds that they "had safely run the gauntlet for 300 miles through a country infested by hostile Indians." This was no fancy picture, for about that time the Rev. W. A. Fuller was the only one to escape with his life when the stage in which he was traveling was attacked by the Indians.

The Bishop brought with him a deacon, the Rev. W. A. Fuller, from Massachusetts, who was stationed at Nevada City, where there was neither a minister nor a church edifice. The only available place of worship was "a dirty, dingy-looking hall" used for dancing and shows. Within ten weeks a church building was begun and ten candidates for confirmation were gathered. In 1867 Christ Church was organized and when the Bishop made his visitation all the saloons closed. On August 13, 1866, Mr. Fuller was ordained priest in St. John's, Denver. This was the first ordination in Colorado. Realizing the need for missionaries, Bishop Randall spent five months in the east; then he writes, "I again turned my face toward the setting sun, and marched with a new force consisting of one deacon, and before we fairly got into action, met the first army coming East."*

In spite of these handicaps the work expanded with encouraging rapidity. Mr. Fuller was succeeded at Nevada City by Father Byrne, who also officiated at Leavenworth. A Sunday School class of St. Mark's, Grand Rapids, Michigan, gave a Communion set, and the church was consecrated September 17, 1867. At Golden City a brick gothic church, described as "the finest ecclesiastical edifice in the Territory," was consecrated on September 23, 1867. St. Timothy's, Philadelphia, gave the Communion service; St. Luke's, Germantown, the Font; several Sunday School classes in the East presented windows, and a layman of St. John's, Elizabeth, New Jersey, contributed most of the cost of the building. Though lacking a minister, Grace Church, Georgetown, was organized and a lady from Grace Church, New York, gave fifteen hundred dollars for a church building. The Rev. Cortlandt Whitehead† of New Jersey was appointed missionary at Black Hawk, his salary being paid by a member of Holy Trinity, Philadelphia. A brick building was rented for a Chapel, but in 1869 Mr. Whitehead departed with all his worldly goods, including an altar, lectern, cross and candlesticks. The Bishop reported that Mr. Winslow had been officiating at Pueblo, the chief town of southern Colorado, for eight months, and extending his ministry for several miles down the Arkansas. Confirmation was administered for the first time on the second Sunday after Trinity, 1868, and St. Peter's

*Mr. Fuller quickly returned to Massachusetts.

†Later Bishop of Pittsburgh.

parish was organized. The wardens and vestry were chosen "from among the most intelligent and influential citizens of the town." A donation of fifteen hundred dollars from a lady of St. Mark's, Philadelphia, made possible the erection of a church, which was consecrated June 27, 1869. Sad to relate, immediately after consecration it was closed for ten months in spite of the fact that it was the only church in the town. In 1869 Mr. Hitchings resigned the parish at Denver and the Bishop assumed the duties of rector. In 1870 he visited Greeley, where there were one hundred houses and a population of nearly one thousand. He baptized a child who was named Horace Greeley and Trinity parish was organized. Nearly enough money was subscribed to build a church at Colorado Springs, described as "a new town on the Rio Grande where services had been held occasionally." Grace Church, George Town, was consecrated after a long and eventful struggle, and only finally completed through the gift of a parishioner of Grace Church, New York. Services were commenced at Silver Flume and Empire City, and a site was given for a church at Canon City. At Wet Mountain Valley, with a population of 500, services were held in an upper room by the Rev. Mr. Hoge and a lot was secured. Meanwhile Bishop Randall was circulating powerful appeals in the East for funds to build churches which "could be distinguished from a schoolhouse, a saloon or from a railroad station." At Central City the church was enlarged and Golden City was organized by the Rev. William J. Lynd, who added to his work a day school. In 1870 Bishop Randall reported "St. John's, Denver, as the largest church in the Territory. The congregation has of late much increased, and the church has been enlarged by the addition of twenty pews. Measures have been taken for the erection of a church edifice which, in dimensions, material and style, shall be suited to the wants of the metropolis of the future State of Colorado."

From the outset of his episcopate Bishop Randall was impressed with the pressing need for church schools in Colorado. Parochial schools were established at Central City, the only High School in the mining district, Black Hawk and Golden City. But there remained the need for a diocesan school. The Roman Convent at Denver was attended by many Protestant girls, because it was the best school in the Territory. In 1867 a group of citizens presented to the Bishop a tract of land for a school. He succeeded in interesting Mr. John D. Wolfe of Grace Church, New York, who contributed the cost of a suitable building to be known as Wolfe Hall. Members of other parishes in the East provided for the furnishings and a brick building, fifty feet square, was erected. It was opened in September, 1868, with seventy pupils and was self-supporting from the beginning.

The Bishop notes that "Already the power of this school is felt. It has turned the tide of young life which was noiselessly flowing into the channel of the Roman Church." The school was enlarged in 1873.

The Bishop had the establishment of a Divinity School much at heart. In 1868 he began a Boys' School at Golden City known as Jarvis Hall. The walls were up and the roof on when it was destroyed in a violent storm. It was rebuilt by the generosity of Mr. George A. Jarvis of Brooklyn, New York. The same gentleman contributed an endowment of ten thousand dollars for the Divinity School meeting temporarily in Jarvis Hall. In 1871 Mr. Nathan Matthews of Baltimore gave ten thousand dollars for the building of the Divinity School, which was named Matthews Hall. It was opened September 19, 1872, with six or seven students.

Into eight short years Maxwell Randall crowded the work of a lifetime. Like Angelo, he "toiled terribly." He was flooded with letters from all parts of the country enquiring about Colorado, and not one was left unanswered. To the care of Colorado and Wyoming he added St. John's, Denver. Asked to relinquish the parish at Denver, he answered, "No, no, I cannot afford this. I must have some cheap man after a time to help me, for both of us must then live off twenty-five hundred a year." Every cent he received as missionary bishop he devoted to the extension of the work of the Church. Urged again to diminish his labors, his reply was, "There is too much to do, and no one but myself to do it. If I die in the discharge of my duty—well, I would rather wear out than rust out." When it was pointed out that a longer life might be productive of greater usefulness, he answered, "We do not know. It is enough that the labor is before me to do, and that God gives me the strength to do it."

The task proved to be too great. Returning from a visitation to Wyoming and New Mexico, he was present at the opening of the sessions of his beloved schools and was then stricken with typhoid. When it was thought that the end was near his wife called in some of his close friends "to see how a Christian man could die." His last conscious act was to bestow the apostolic blessing upon his devoted wife who had shared his heroic labors. On Sunday morning, September 28th, 1873, he crossed the great divide and the trumpets pealed on the other side. He was buried with his fathers at Warren, Rhode Island. *The Denver News* wrote of him:

"Here his memory will survive; here are his enduring monuments. So long as the Territory of Colorado shall continue to endure; so long as her civilization shall continue to expand; so long as education shall thrive, and Christianity spread its beneficent influence over society, so long

as high personal character, purity, and noble endeavor shall incite men to duty and high resolve by the splendor of its example, so long will the name of Randall endure, shedding lustre upon the Church and upon the Christian cause throughout the world."

It was a noble tribute to a noble man.

At his death Bishop Randall left 24 organized churches, 20 church buildings, 15 clergymen and 3 institutions.

John Franklin Spalding was consecrated Bishop Randall's successor in St. Paul's Church, Erie, Pa., of which he was rector, on December 31st, 1873. One of his presenters was Boyd Vincent, the beloved retired Bishop of Southern Ohio. He arrived in Denver on February 27, 1874. The population of the city was then 12,000; of the Territory, 40,000. Two-thirds of the Missions were vacant, but he found six clergymen and one chaplain. The times were not auspicious by reason of money stringency coupled with a plague of locusts.

Nothing daunted, the Bishop went ahead purchasing property and establishing new Missions. His visitations were made on horseback or by stage, and when the floods washed away bridges he walked long distances. The Church in southern Colorado grew apace as the result of his visits to lonely ranches and widely scattered farms. On one occasion he traveled in an open buggy for two days at an altitude of two miles, during which two storms of wind, snow and sleet were encountered. "An exposure," said the Bishop, "which had no serious consequences but was by no means pleasant." A contemporary wrote, "I have been told of jolly parties—Church parties—when the Bishop sat on the seat of a lumber-wagon with the driver, a little organ borrowed for the occasion, and then driving from house to house, the congregation was gathered—happy, zealous workers were our pioneers."

The work grew apace. On September 12, 1875, Trinity Church, Denver, a memorial to Bishop Randall, was consecrated, the sermon being preached by Bishop J. C. Talbot. In the same year Emmanuel Mission, West Denver, was established and Mr. J. C. Elms of Boston contributed fifteen hundred dollars for a church building. Stone churches at Central City and Colorado Springs were completed, and on April 16th, the cornerstone of a church was laid at Greeley, which is described as "a pleasant, orderly and prosperous town, with more than 2,000 inhabitants, lying on the Denver Pacific Railroad." Within five years work was begun at Silver City and Leadville. A missionary was placed at Boulder. In 1879 churches were built at Ouray, Silver Cliff and Boulder, and later at Leadville and Manitou. Dur-

ango, Gunnison and Longmont were occupied, and churches followed at South Pueblo, Alamosa, Buena Vista, Fort Collins and Villa Grove.

In 1878 Jarvis Hall and Matthews Hall at Golden were totally destroyed by fire. With the aid of the modest insurance the schools were removed to Denver. Two years later the work was begun on the Cathedral of St. John the Evangelist in Denver and in 1879 St. Luke's Hospital was organized. In 1883 Wyoming was created a separate Missionary District, and in 1887 Colorado was organized as a diocese with Dr. Spalding as the first bishop.

In the year 1892 the General Convention set apart the western part of the State as the Missionary District of Western Colorado. The Rev. William M. Barker* was the first bishop, but after a short time was translated to Olympia and Bishop Abiel Leonard† took charge of Nevada, Western Colorado and Utah. The Missionary district of Western Colorado was re-created in 1907 with its own bishop—Edward Jennings Knight, who died in less than a year after his consecration. He was succeeded by Benjamin Brewster, now Bishop of Maine. Bishop Brewster was followed by Frank Hale Touret in 1917, but within two years Bishop Touret was sent to Idaho, and in 1919 Western Colorado was again united with its mother diocese.

**William Morris Barker was born at Towanda, Pa., May 12, 1854 and graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1873, and later from the Berkley Divinity School. He was admitted to the diaconate on June 4, 1879, by Bishop John Williams of Connecticut, and served as curate at St. John's, Troy, N. Y. He was priested by Bishop William C. Doane of Albany on February 15, 1880, and served as curate at St. John's, Washington, D. C., and then became rector of St. Paul's in that city. In 1887-1889 he was rector of St. Luke's, Baltimore, Md., and then removed to Duluth, Minnesota. He was consecrated Bishop of Western Colorado at Duluth on January 25th, 1893. In October, 1894, he was relieved "from the exercise of Episcopal functions in the missionary district of Western Colorado," and translated to exercise the same functions in the missionary district of Olympia, comprising the western portion of the State of Washington. He died February 21st, 1901.*

†Abiel Leonard was born at Fayette, Mo., June 26, 1848, and graduated from Dartmouth College and the General Theological Seminary. He was made Deacon in the Church of the Transfiguration, New York City, June 29th, 1873, by Bishop Robertson of Missouri, who advanced him to the priesthood on November 4th, 1874. He served as rector at Sedalia, Mo., Hannibal, Mo., and Atchison, Kansas. On January 25th, 1888, he was consecrated Missionary Bishop of Nevada and Utah, and in 1895 Western Colorado was added to his jurisdiction for a time. He died December 3rd, 1903.

THE REVEREND ABRAHAM BEACH, D. D.

1740-1828

By Walter Herbert Stowe

ABRAHAM BEACH was born at Cheshire, Connecticut, September 9, 1740, the son of Captain Elnathan Beach (1698-1742), and his second wife, Hannah Wooster Cooke, sister of David Wooster, one of the brigadier generals of the Revolutionary Army. Abraham was the only child of his father's second marriage, and his father died when he was but two years old.

Mrs. Beach married Dr. Bull of Hartford, and there Abraham received his elementary education and at the age of thirteen (1753) entered Yale College with his half-brother, Samuel Beach. Mr. Clap was president of Yale and Abraham was always grateful for the instruction received from the venerable president. Beach graduated in 1757 with honors, making the valedictory address.

The ministry was not Mr. Beach's original objective and he did not become a member of the Church of England in the Colonies until reaching manhood. Dr. Samuel Johnson, founder of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut, could claim among his converts the Rev. John Beach of Newton, who was distinguished for his zeal for the Church and for his ability as a controversialist. This John Beach was a near kinsman of Abraham.

Sometime around 1765 Abraham determined to seek Holy Orders and received the backing of the Connecticut clergy. The letter of recommendation to the Bishop of London, adopted by the Convention of Clergy of Connecticut held at Wallingford, May 28, 1766,* states that Abraham Beach "has been educated in Yale College in this Colony; has received a Degree of Master of Arts in the same, and has made as good a proficiency in learning as can be expected in this country. He is well affected to the Constitution in Church and State, he is a person qualified to serve the Church in these parts according to our best judgment." The letter is signed by Jeremiah Leaming, Richard Mansfield, Solomon Palmer, Christopher Newton, James Scovil, Samuel Peters, Samuel Andrews, John Beardsley, Roger Viets

*See *Historical Magazine*, Vol. III., p. 56.

and Bela Howard. The Rev. Dr. Samuel Johnson appended a note in his own hand:*

“As I have but a short acquaintance with Mr. Beach, I could not properly sign his testimonial, but he has ever since I have known him appeared to me so hopeful a candidate, and is generally well spoken of, that I doubt not but he will prove a very useful missionary, and I wish he may be placed at New Brunswick.”

When Beach went to England in 1767, he carried a letter from the Church Wardens and Vestrymen of Christ Church, New Brunswick, to the Secretary of the S. P. G., dated November 18, 1766, requesting that Beach be appointed Missionary to Christ Church when ordained and stating that Beach had visited them, that he was strongly recommended by the Rev. Dr. Chandler of Elizabethtown, and that he “is very acceptable to us.” They also set forth that the dissenters in and around New Brunswick are generally well disposed towards the Church and that, if a missionary continued among them for some time, “the Church would increase and become flourishing in a few years.” They complain, with some justice, about the “sudden removal of the Missionaries and the frequent long intermission of Divine Service” with consequent loss of ground gained. The letter is signed by Samuel Kemble and Francis Brasier, Church Wardens, and Edward Antill, Paul Miller, John Dennis, James Collins, William Harrison, Cornelius Low, Jr., Joseph Vickers, B. Lagrange, Vestrymen.

Their petition was answered in both respects in this case for Beach, after ordination as Deacon and Priest in 1767 (the latter ordination by the Bishop of London in June), was appointed missionary to New Brunswick and Piscataway, New Jersey, and he remained for seventeen years in this one field with the whole province at times a part of his cure.

Arriving in New Brunswick in the fall of 1767, his ministry there and throughout the Province is recorded in the following letters which speak for themselves. Beach's original registers of baptisms, marriages and burials are still extant, the prized possessions of Christ Church, New Brunswick. He married while in New Brunswick, Ann, daughter and sole heiress of Evert Van Winkle, through whom he obtained his residence and beautiful country estate, Elm Farm, situated on the Raritan River, some three miles from New Brunswick.

The testimony of a brother Missionary concerning Beach's conduct in a trying period is of value. The Reverend Samuel Cooke, S. P. G. Missionary, writing to the Venerable Society, May 1, 1777,

*S. P. G. Records, Vol. 24, Letter #297.

states:* "For these four months past I have been at New Brunswick in Mr. Beach's mission, and have officiated occasionally in his church, it being the only one in this Province that Divine Service is regularly and properly performed in. Mr. Beach's situation is very precarious as he is near two miles out of the British lines; yet from his prudent and good conduct he is permitted to stay at home, but at the same time not free from frequent insults and constant apprehensions." The reader is referred to Mr. Beach's own description of his difficulties and to the sage, broadminded counsel of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London to the Colonial Clergy in Beach's circumstances, which counsel is not generally known to have been given.

Mr. Beach must be credited with being the first clergyman, following the Treaty of Peace, who saw the importance of bringing about a union of the scattered congregations in the now independent States. He initiated correspondence with the Rev. William White, later first Bishop of Pennsylvania, and expressed the hope "that the members of the Episcopal Church in this country would interest themselves in its behalf, would endeavor to introduce order and uniformity into it and provide for a succession in the ministry." The historic gathering of clergy and laity in Christ Church, New Brunswick, May 11 and 12, 1784, which resulted from this correspondence, was the first meeting to promote a union of the churches in all the states and stands forth as the parent of all subsequent general gatherings of our Church. It was the preliminary General Convention, first in the line of succession of the General Conventions of the Episcopal Church in the United States of America.†

On June 8, 1784, Beach was called at the particular request of Dr. Provoost, newly elected Rector, as Assistant Minister of Trinity Church, New York City, at a salary of £500 per year, no mean salary for those days.

In spite of his connection with the Diocese of New York, Mr. Beach presided as President over the first Diocesan Convention of New Jersey, which met for its first sitting in New Brunswick on July 6, 1785, and for its second sitting at St. Peter's, Perth Amboy, May 16-19, 1786. Also, he was a deputy to the General Conventions of 1785 and 1786 for New Jersey. Here his churchmanship was put to the test. He was strong and unyielding in his belief in the absolute necessity of Episcopal ordination, and opposed all pleas for a non-Episcopal ministry and all attempts at radical alterations in the Book of Common Prayer.

In the General Convention of 1789 he represented the Diocese of

**S. P. G. Records, Letter #118.*

†*For details of this meeting, see Historical Magazine, Vol. III., No. 1, pp. 28, 29.*

New York and did so during the rest of his active career. In 1801, 1804, and 1808, he was the President of the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies. In the absence of the Bishop of New York, he was repeatedly chosen President of the Diocesan Convention and was at all times a member of the Standing Committee of the Diocese.

Mr. Beach's interest in education is evident from the many responsible positions he occupied. Of Rutgers College, New Brunswick, established 1770, he was an early and efficient trustee. In 1786 he was elected a regent of the University of the State of New York, and a Charter Trustee, 1787, of Columbia College. Of this latter institution he was Secretary of the Board as long as he was in the state. On the first occasion of Columbia's conferring honorary degrees, 1789, he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity. He was also Chaplain of the Grand Lodge of Masons of New York.

Dr. Beach served as Assistant Minister under both Bishop Provoost and Bishop Moore. When Bishop Moore suffered a paralytic stroke and became practically incapacitated, he nominated Dr. Beach as "Assistant to the Rector" and the nomination was approved by the Vestry, March 13, 1811.* Dr. Beach thus became presiding officer of the vestry and was for the next two years virtually rector.

Dr. Dix pays the following tribute to Beach in his History:† "During the whole of Dr. Moore's Rectorship, Dr. Beach was the guiding spirit of the administration up to the time when, in 1813, he resigned the office of Assistant to the Rector. His long term of service, dating from June, 1784 (twenty-nine years), gave him an acknowledged pre-eminence in the counsels of the Board and the many institutions that clustered around the Corporation of Trinity Church. The trusted and loyal friend of Dr. Provoost became the right-hand man of Dr. Moore. The seclusion in which Dr. Moore was obliged to live made Dr. Beach Rector *de facto*, even before his appointment in 1811 as the Rector's Assistant. To this fact may be attributed the continuity of policy under Dr. Provoost's Rectorship, and through the legal Rectorship of Dr. Moore."

When Dr. Beach resigned as Assistant Rector in 1813, he was seventy-three years old. The Vestry showed their appreciation of his twenty-nine years' able and faithful service to the parish in handsome fashion. They voted him a pension of £700 per year and a further sum of £300 to pay for the rent of a house if he were to continue to live in New York City.

He elected, however, to return to his home on the Raritan, near New Brunswick, and there lived to be eighty-eight years old, depart-

**Morgan Dix: "A History of the Parish of Trinity Church in the City of New York," Vol. II., p. 185; New York, Putnam, 1901.*

†*Ibid., page 197.*

ing this life September 14, 1828. He was buried in Christ Church Yard, and his grave, together with a tablet in the church, reminds succeeding generations of his noble life and fruitful work in the Lord's Vineyard.

LETTERS TO THE S. P. G.

New Brunswick, January 13th, 1768

Reverend Sir:

I beg leave to acquaint you that on the 21st of September last I arrived at Boston, and from thence immediately proceeded to my Mission, where I was kindly received, and found harmony and good agreement subsisting amongst all Denominations, which disposition, as also every Christian Virtue, shall ever endeavour to continue and increase.

The people of this Mission are sensible of the many favours they have received from the Venerable Society, and with gratitude acknowledge the same, though, they cannot but regret their withdrawing part of their usual bounty to them, as in former times other Missionaries here found that even the whole 50-Pounds from the Society, added to what the people were able to contribute, made but a very scanty subsistence.

I am very sensible that the Society with great reason expects that as the members of a Church increase, they should proportionately increase their Missionary's salary, but with respect to this Mission I beg leave to observe that the speedy removal of the former Missionaries, and the long vacancies occasioned thereby, have so impaired the growth of the Church, that for several years it has but very little, if at all increased.

It makes me very unhappy that my first address to the Society should be in the petitioning way, but the needy circumstances of this Mission, which were represented to the Society by the Clergy of this Province, when the Reverend Mr. Cutting* was in it, and which were then generously compassionated by them, oblige me, though unwillingly, to beg a future continuance of their former bounty.

This favour should have been desired when I had the honour of waiting on you in person, had I then been acquainted with the true circumstances of the Mission, which now appear very much to need it.

I have made enquiry after the Society's Library, which I expected to have found here, and am informed by the Church Wardens and others it never has been received; neither have they received a Folio Bible and Prayer Book

*Rev. Leonard Cutting, M. A. (Cambridge). Born 1724. In 1756 was appointed a tutor in King's College, New York, and in 1763 went to England for Orders. S. P. G. Missionary at New Brunswick and Piscataqua, N. J., 1764-1766. Rector St. George's Church, Hempstead, Long Island, 1766-1784. In 1874 rector at Snow Hill, Md., for one year; then at Newbern, N. C. After about eight years he returned to New York, where he died on January 25th, 1794, in his seventieth year.

for the use of the Church, the old ones now here being the bounty of a private gentleman.

A few Prayer Books, and some small Tracts, such as Bishop Beveridge on the Common Prayer, etc., may I think be distributed amongst the People here to a very good purpose, should the Society be good enough to bestow them.

The Society's favourable consideration of the present circumstances of their Mission at New Brunswick with regard to these particulars, will greatly add to the favours already received and be ever acknowledged with the warmest gratitude by Reverend Sir, yours and the Society's most Obedient Servant.

Addressed to the Reverend Dr. Daniel Burton, Secy. to the Society, etc., in Abingdon Street, Westminster.

Endorsed #5—A letter from the Reverend Mr. Abraham Beach, Missionary at New Brunswick and Piscataqua, dated, New Brunswick, January 13th, 1768.

Read at a Committee, April 11th, 1768.

New Brunswick, June 24th, 1768.

Reverend Sir:

In my letter of the 13th, January last, I acquainted you of my arrival at this Mission, and of the kind reception I met with from the People, and desired the Society would consider their distressed circumstances by continuing their former bounty of 50-Pounds, and likewise asked the favour of some Prayer Books and small Tracts, which are much needed by many poor people who are by no means able to purchase them for themselves.

In that letter I also mentioned my not having received any information of the Society's Library belonging to this Mission, but Mr. Cutting has since let me know that he has taken care of it, and will return it, to which letter, no answer has as yet come to hand.

I now beg leave to acquaint you of my taking the liberty to draw on you in favour of John Dennis, Esqr., for half a year's salary due Lady Day last, and hope you will excuse me for troubling you in this manner, as I had heard of the death of the Society's Treasurer, and know not on whom more properly to draw than the Secretary.

Since my arrival the second day of November last to the date hereof I have baptized at New Brunswick 23 Whites, and 6 Blacks, at Piscataqua 6 Whites and have performed every part of my Duty as well as my abilities would permit, which I shall ever continue to do.

I am Reverend and Worthy Sir, yours and the Society's much obliged and very Humble Servant.

Endorsed #8—New Jersey—A letter from the Reverend

Mr. Abraham Beach, Missionary at New Brunswick and Piscataqua, dated New Brunswick, June 24th, 1768.

Read at a Committee, September 12th, 1768.

New Brunswick in New Jersey, October 10th, 1768.

Reverend Sir:

Your favour of the 21st of April I have received and am sorry that the Society cannot comply with my request for an addition of salary to this Mission. I, however, cheerfully submit to the Society's better judgment. Soon after the date of my letter of January 13th, I was informed by Mr. Cutting, that he had taken the Library belonging to this Mission with him to Hempstead, because he was accountable to the Society for it, and imagined it could be safer nowhere else than with himself; and at the same time he engaged to send it here by the first conveyance.

In the letter I mentioned of the 24th of June, I gave you an account of the number I had baptized since my arrival, to that time, and at Christmas I expect to transmit a further account.

I am, Reverend Sir, yours and the Society's most Obedient Humble Servant.

New Brunswick, Oct. 10th, 1768.

Addressed to the Reverend Dr. Burton, Secy. to the Honorable Society, etc., Abingdon Street, Westminster.

Endorsed *12—A letter from the Reverend Mr. Abraham Beach, Missionary at New Brunswick and Piscataqua, dated Oct. 10th, 1768, Committee, Dec. 12th, 1768.

New Brunswick in New Jersey, February 22, 1769.

Reverend Sir:

A favourable opportunity presenting by Captain Kimble, one of the Church Wardens here, I beg leave to acquaint you that I make it my constant endeavour to answer the Society's expectations in placing me in this Mission, and as I am not fond of neglecting my duty here on Sunday, have sometimes on week days visited and preached at places which are destitute; particularly at a place called Ash-Swamp, where are a number of families who profess themselves members of the Church of England; and baptized there at several times, 6 children.

These people are desirous of my still visiting and preaching to them on week days as often as may be convenient, which I readily engaged to do prompted both by duty and inclination, I have likewise preached once at Woodbridge.

The Church there was then finishing at the expense of Mr. Watson of Perth Amboy, who has likewise generously given to it a Bell.

Since my letter of the 24th of June, to this time have baptized at New Brunswick 14 infants, at Piscataqua 4 White infants, 1 Black infant, and two Black Adults, whom I instructed in the principles of the Christian Religion and afterwards admitted to the Communion.

I have for sometime been expecting the Books for the use of the poor of my Mission, which you was good enough to mention in yours of the 21st of April, and as they have not yet come to hand, am under some apprehensions their having miscarried. I am Reverend Sir, yours, and the Society's most obliged and very Humble SERVANT.

Addressed to the Reverend Dr. Daniel Burton, Secy. to the Hon. Society, etc., Abingdon Street, Westminster—Per favor Capt. Kimble.

Endorsed #13—A letter from the Reverend Mr. Abraham Beach, Missionary, at New Brunswick, New Jersey, Feb. 22nd, 1769, Read at ye Committee, May 15, 1769.

New Brunswick in New Jersey, November 20, 1769.

Reverend Sir:

Since my letter of the 22nd of February last, I have received a number of Prayer Books and several small Tracts for the use of the poor of my Mission; which I have endeavoured to distribute in such a manner as may best answer the Society's generous intention in sending them.

I have likewise, since my Letter of the above date on and through the request of some of the principle inhabitants of Morris Town, a place about 25 miles from New Brunswick, preached on a Sunday there, and baptized 8 infants; and until we heard of Mr. Prestons* appointment to Amboy and Woodbridge, I preached once a month a week day at Woodbridge, and performed other parochial duties.

And with respect to my own Mission, I have it my constant care to be serviceable therein, by preaching twice every Sunday and instructing the children in the Catechism, and have baptized at New Brunswick, and Piscataqua, from February 22 to the present time 32 infants and 7 adults.

I cannot but lament that many of the inhabitants of Piscataqua are so tinctured with the principles of the Anabaptists, as to refuse baptism to their infants, the consequence of which is they grow up in a careless state, and perhaps are never admitted members of Christ's Church.

In order to convince such of their error, I should be very glad of some small tracts on Infant Baptism, to distribute amongst them, in the meantime I shall take every prudent step to convince them of the necessity of Infant Baptism.

*Rev. John Preston, S. P. G. Missionary at Perth Amboy and Woodbridge, N. J. During the War of the Revolution the services of the two churches were broken up and Mr. Preston became Chaplain of the 26th British regiment.

I am, Reverend Sir, yours and the Society's Humble Servant.

Endorsed #5—A Letter from the Reverend Mr. Beach, Missionary at Brunswick, etc.

New Brunswick in New Jersey, November 22, 1770.
Reverend & Worthy Sir:

In my letter of the 20th of November, 1769, I acquainted you in some measure with the state of my Mission, and in particular that some of the inhabitants of Piscataqua were a little tinctured with Anabaptists principles which still continue to be the case, although I hope not so much as at that time; it having been, as it is now, my earnest desire to remove their unreasonable prejudices, in which I think I should be greatly assisted if the Society would be kind enough to send me some small Tracts in favour of Infant Baptism to distribute amongst them.

In August last, I made a journey to Sussex by the desire of Dr. Chandler and some of the inhabitants of that place, and preached on Sunday at the Court House, and on the three following days at different parts of the County, in private houses, there not being a Church, or indeed a Minister of any Denomination in the County.

There are a considerable number of people (Professors of the Church of England) scattered about in this wilderness, who appear very desirous of having a Minister settled amongst them, which their circumstances will not at present permit, unless the Society should think proper to assist them; and in order to ask that favour with any kind of propriety, they have undertaken to build a comfortable, and for that place, decent Parsonage House, which is now almost finished. They have also entered into a subscription for a Ministers' salary, and the Proprietors have generously given a tract of land, which I think is 200 acres, towards his support. In this journey I baptized 14 children.

I have in my own Mission, since my last letter of November, 1769, 30 infants and 3 adults; likewise 3 Black infants and 4 Black adults, baptized 40 persons in all, and have had several new Communicants within the year.

I am, Reverend Sir, your Humble Servant.

Missionary at New Brunswick, in New Jersey.

New Brunswick, November 27, 1771.

Reverend Sir:

As the Society expects from their Missionaries an account of their labours and the state of their Missions, I embrace the present opportunity to perform my duty in this particular.

In my letter of the 22nd of November last, I acquainted you with my taking a journey to Sussex and briefly described the country and its inhabitants, since which I have

again visited the people there, and preached in different places six days successively. At the Court House I administered the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to nine persons, which was the only opportunity they ever had there of partaking in that Sacrament; and in the course of my journey I baptized 21 infants and 6 adults.

Mr. Ogden,* the Society's Catechist in this County, is very serviceable in reading Prayers and Sermons to the people, and thereby preserving in their minds a sense of Religion. It is needless for me to say anything further on this head, as Dr. Chandler informs me he has been very particular in his letters.

With regard to my own Mission, I have the pleasure to see the Churches frequented by devout, serious, well-behaved persons of all Denominations, and although by deaths and removals we have lost several worthy families, my Mission appears to be in as flourishing a condition as at my first arrival here.

At New Brunswick the people have entered into a subscription for repairing the Church and erecting a steeple to it, but find they are not able to go through with the design on account of the expense, unless assisted a little by the good people of other places, of which I am not without hopes, a good beginning being made already by Messrs. Thomas Paul and Christopher Miller of New York, who have engaged us a Bell. I hope in my next letter to you, to give an account of our further success in this undertaking.

In my Mission are many Negroes of whom I collect as many as can attend with convenience every Sunday evening. This practice I find has been attended with some success, there being several instances of Negroes who at my first seeing them possessed all the superstitions and notions of their own Country, but are now sincere and orderly Christians.

Since my last I have baptized at New Brunswick 28 White infants and 3 adults, 5 Negro children and 4 adults; at Piscataqua only 2 infants and 1 adult. The great differences between the baptisms at Brunswick and Piscataqua is occasioned by the people of the latter place being surrounded with Anti-Baptists and imbibing some of their uncharitable tenets, which I endeavour as much as possible to eradicate, but to accomplish this, it appears necessary to

*Rev. Uzal Ogden, born about 1744. He was educated under the Rev. Dr. Thomas Bradbury Chandler and from 1770 to 1772 served as S. P. G. Catechist in Sussex County, N. Y. He appears to have been ordained Deacon and Priest in London on the same day, September 21st, 1773. He returned to America as S. P. G. Missionary in Sussex and Bergen Counties, and on August 30, 1784, became an assistant minister in Trinity Parish, New York City. Four years later he was elected rector of Trinity Church, Newark, N. J. On August 16, 1788, he was elected Bishop of New Jersey, and though the election was repeated the following year, it failed of confirmation twice in the House of Deputies of the General Convention. Dr. Ogden's attachment to the Episcopal Church was called in question, and on May 9, 1805, he was suspended from the ministry and formally joined the Presbyterian church in October of that year. He died November 4, 1822.

distribute among them a few well written tracts in favour of Infant Baptism, which as well as a few Prayer Books, would be very serviceable if the Society should think proper to send them.

I am Reverend Sir, yours and the Society's much obliged and Humble Servant.

Endorsed #9—A letter from ye Reverend Mr. Abraham Beach, Missionary at New Brunswick in New Jersey.

Dated, November 27, 1771. Read at ye Committee, March 16, 1772.

New Brunswick, May 27, 1774.

Reverend Sir:

I beg leave through you to acquaint the Society that their Mission of New Brunswick and Piscataqua continues in a flourishing state, and that no endeavours on my part are wanting to render it respectable and in some degree worthy the favours it receives from the Society.

Since my last to Dr. Burton I have received a number of Prayer Books and small tracts to be distributed amongst the poor of this Mission, for which the Society will be pleased to accept my thanks.

Since my letter of ye 1st of December, 1772, I have baptised at New Brunswick 37 Whites and 4 Blacks; at Piscataqua 11 Whites and 2 Blacks, and have had several new Communicants.

In this part of the world are dissenters of every Denomination, whose prejudices against the Church of England have been imbibed in their earliest years, and have increased with them. It is not, therefore, to be expected that they will easily wear off. I find, however, that treating them with candour, kindness, and charity, is the most likely means to bring them to examine the Constitution of our Church with coolness and impartiality, which only is wanting in order to make them members of it. This I have experienced in several instances.

Dr. Burton acquainted me that he had in his possession a Catalogue of the books which the Society gave to this Mission as a Library, which Catalogue it is probable he delivered to you.

I should esteem it a particular favour if you would forward a copy of it to me, as some of the books may have been lost when the Mission was vacant.

I am, with respect, Reverend Sir, yours, and the Society's most obliged Humble Servant.

Addressed—to the Reverend Dr. Hind, Secy. to the Society, etc., Westminster, London.

Endorsed—#23—Reverend Mr. Beach, Missionary, New Brunswick, New Jersey, May 27, 1774.

Read at a Committee, August 15, 1774.

New Brunswick in New Jersey, December 6, 1775.

Reverend Sir:

The Society will no doubt wish to be informed of the state of the Church in this country, at so unfavourable a juncture as the present, and I wish it were in my power to give a pleasing account. But that is by no means the case. Everything here is in the utmost confusion. The spirit of the times hath diffused itself through all ranks of men and in many instances dissolved the tender ties of friendships, and even natural affection.

Our calamities, you can better feel than describe. To enter into particulars would perhaps expose me to the resentment of my neighbours, which I would wish to avoid for the sake of the Church as well as for my own. Every letter is in danger of being exposed to public view, and exceptions are taken at the most innocent expressions.

In this distressing situation, I beg leave through you, to assure the Society, that I have persevered in my duty as a loyal subject, and as a Clergy of the Church of England with steadiness and uniformity, and have exercised as much prudence as possible I was master of, and that whatever may be my fate, I am still determined to continue the same conduct and to preserve, if I can preserve nothing else, a conscience void of offense towards God and towards man.

Since my last, I have baptized in my Mission 43 infants and adults, 12 of which were Blacks, and in the course of the Summer have visited the vacant Congregations at Elizabeth Town, once; at Shrewsbury, twice. On my journey to Shrewsbury, I visited Mr. Ayers* at Freehold, who being deprived of his reason had shut himself up in one of his Churches, and in danger of suffering from the necessities of life. I proposed to him returning to his house, and endeavoured to soothe him into a compliance, but was then unable to prevail. However, his people seconding my endeavours removed him the next day.

I have written to Philadelphia to get him admitted into their Hospital where he can be comfortably provided for, but have not as yet received an answer.

I am Reverend Sir, yours and the Society's much obliged and Humble Servant.

Addressed—to the Reverend DR. HIND, Secy. to the Hon. Socy. etc., St. Ann's, Westminster, London.

Endorsed #6—A letter from the Reverend Mr. Beach, Missionary at New Brunswick and Piscataqua in New Jersey.

Read at a Committee, December 6th, 1775.

*Rev. William Ayres, S. P. G. Missionary at Spotswood and Freehold, N. J., 1768-1783. Incapacitated through insanity 1775-1780. Recovered in latter year and restored to full salary in place of annuity granted during his affliction.

New Brunswick in New Jersey, February 15, 1777.

Reverend Sir:

After so long an interruption, I think myself happy in an opportunity to pay my respects to the Society.

I should be still more happy were it in my power to inform them that their request with respect to a Glebe, contained in your favour of ye 22nd of December, 1775, was complied with; so far from it, I have thought it prudent not so much as to mention it until peace be restored to this unhappy country, should that blessing ever be granted us.

As the Society has a right to expect an account of the public conduct of their Missionaries, I beg leave, through you, to acquaint them, that from the beginning of the present troubles I have persevered with steadiness and uniformity in my principles and conduct, and whenever it could be done with the least degree of personal safety, have endeavoured to open the eyes of the ignorant and deluded.

The part which the clergy of the Church of England had to act was extremely difficult and dangerous. We were called upon by Congress to fast and to pray for success to their Arms, and particular days were set apart for that purpose. Had I neglected to open my Church it would have been utterly impossible for me to have remained in the country, were I so fortunate as to escape with life.

After Independence was declared by the Congress, it was deemed high treason for any person to pray for the King and Government as directed by the Liturgy.

In such circumstances, I judged it prudent to go to Church and to make use of the prayers as usual, without the variation of a single word, and sermons calculated as much as the times would permit, to mitigate the general information. I went to Church however fully determined to make no alteration in the service.

When I was in the Reading Desk looking up the Lessons, a person came up to me desiring to speak with me in the Church Yard. He informed me that if I should presume to pray for the King of England I should immediately be made a prisoner, and otherwise severely used.

In these circumstances I thought it advisable rather to shut the Church for the present, than to violate the Declaration I subscribed before the Bishop at my Ordination, the oath of Allegiance I then took, and the natural feelings of my own mind.

My Churches were accordingly shut from the 7th of July until the 8th of December, when the King's Troops arrived at this place, since which time I have officiated altogether at Brunswick.

The Church at Piscataqua was being occupied as a barracks for part of the 42nd Regiment.

My present condition is truly distressing, being situated about a quarter of a mile beyond the picket guard of the King's Troops. Parties of Washington's Army are ever

lurking about me. A few days ago they drove off my cattle, horses, and sheep, and since I sat down to write this letter I have been interrupted by about 50 of them surrounding my house and firing upon the out-sentry of the Hessians.

They went off, however, in about an hour without entering the house or doing any damage to those they fired on.

Although in the midst of war and confusion, I have baptized since the 25th of December, 1775, 61 infants and 2 adults in my own Mission; at Elizabeth Town, 1 infant; at Shrewsbury, 2 infants; at Spotswood, 11. At these places I have officiated as often as I could be spared from my own Mission.

I wish to be favoured with the Society's directions with regard to my future conduct.

And am, Reverend Sir, yours and the Society's obliged
Humble Servant.

To the Reverend Dr. Hind.

New Brunswick in New Jersey, March 24, 1780.

Reverend Sir:

By a Flag of Truce going to New York I have an opportunity just to acquaint the Society that I still remain at this place, and continue to perform my duty as their Missionary in the same manner I did when I wrote last, which was on the 4th of July, 1778; since which time, I have baptized in my own Mission 23, and buried 4; at Shrewsbury, baptized 6, buried 1; at Spotswood, baptized 18; at Elizabeth Town, baptized 10, buried 8; at Woodbridge, baptized 2; at Chatham, baptized 3. I wish it was in my power to be more regular and more particular in my correspondence with the Society, but that the present unhappy contest effectually prevents. However, they may be assured that I shall always endeavour not to disgrace the character of a clergyman of the Church of England, and as the Society's Missionary to visit every vacant parish however remote from my own, where I may be invited to baptize their children and bury their dead.

I am, Reverend Sir, yours and the Society's most obliged and Humble Servant.

Addressed—to the Reverend Dr. Hind, Secretary to the Hon. Society, etc., at St. Ann's Westminster.

Endorsed #9—A letter from the Reverend Mr. Abraham Beach, Missionary at New Brunswick and Piscataqua, New Jersey, March 24, 1780.

Read at a Committee—July, 1780.

New Brunswick in New Jersey,
January 4, 1782.

Reverend Sir:

Amongst the many distresses and calamities, which I have experienced by the present troubles, I think I may

with propriety rank the interruption of the intercourse and correspondence with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, to whom I am under many and great obligations and whose advice, especially in these turbulent times, is essentially necessary, having been deprived of this advantage for the space of 6 years, and during most of the time being unable to consult my brethren of the province, (*most of them having taken refuge in New York*).

In this destitute condition I have had only my own judgment to direct me amidst the difficulties with which I am surrounded, always maintaining an invariable resolution never to deviate from my duty as a good subject, a good Christian, and a Minister of the Gospel.

Consistently with this resolution I thought it impossible for me after the Declaration of Independence, to continue the service with the omissions required, and judging from the present appearances, that it could be for any length of time.

I shut the door of the Church, as I have already acquainted the Society by my former letters; I opened them again upon the arrival of the King's Troops at this place in December, 1776, and shut them once more on their departure in the month of June following.

From that time I have contented myself with visiting my people, baptizing their children, and performing any other clerical duty that was permitted me.

But notwithstanding my utmost endeavours in this way, I found the spiritual appearance of Religion gradually decline, owing partly to the discontinuance of public worship for such a length of time. To the latter cause, principally, it is owing that children are growing up with very little religious knowledge, and were public worship to be neglected for a few years more, it is to be feared that the rising generation would come upon the stage, ignorant of the doctrines, and form of worship of the Church in which they have been baptized, as well as their duty to God, their neighbours, and themselves.

Impressed with this melancholy consideration I wrote to the Society for their advice and direction in the month of October, 1780, and although I have received no answer directly from the Society, I have been favoured with an extract of a letter from Dr. Chandler in which he acquaints the clergy of Connecticut, that at their desire, he had waited on the Archbishop and the Bishop of London for their directions on this very subject, and that they acquainted him that if the clergy of Connecticut were unanimously of opinion that the use of the Liturgy with only the omission of the Collects for the King and the Royal Family was for the present necessary, and should act accordingly. They would not meet with censure of their superiors at home.

I likewise applied by letter for the advice of my brethren in New York, some of whom were of opinion that it was

advisable to keep the congregation together, by making the omission required, and to enforce their advice, brought the examples of Bishop Sanderson, Dr. Hammond and others in the great Rebellion in England. Others thought they could not, with propriety, give any advice, being unacquainted with the particular circumstances of the country.

Upon the whole it was my opinion that the benevolent intentions of the Society could not be answered in the manner I wished them to be, without opening the doors of the Church.

Accordingly, on Christmas Day, last, I read prayers, and preached to a decent congregation at New Brunswick. and although my feelings were hurt by being obliged to make the omissions required, yet I have reason to hope that the cause of true Religion may be promoted by it, and the Church kept from sinking altogether. I propose to continue to preach every Sunday, at least, until I am favoured with the Society's directions, or am forbidden by the people at present in power.

The Church at Piscataqua is by no means in a proper condition to receive a congregation, having been used as a barrack for troops in the year 1777. I shall, therefore be obliged to make use of a private house to officiate in until the Church can be repaired, which circumstances cannot possibly take place in the present situation of my people.

Many respectable people of both my congregations, having moved into New York, and those that remain being very much reduced in their circumstances, they have not been able to contribute anything towards my support for the last six years. Nor have I the least reason to expect any assistance from them until peace and tranquility be restored to the country, an event devoutly to be wished.

My support and the support of my family depends entirely on the produce of a little farm and the Society's bounty. Although I sometimes find it very difficult to get along, yet I shall endeavour to content myself as well as I can until better times, unless the Society shall think proper to remove me.

Nothing would afford me greater pleasure than to hear from the Society and to receive their advice and directions.

A letter to the care of Dr. Ingliss* at New York would probably find me or at least find its way to me, and if the Society should think proper to send me a few Prayer Books for the use of my congregations the favour would be most gratefully acknowledged, many of them having lost their books in the confusion of the times and are unable to replace.

I have baptized since my last letter to the Society, dated the 2nd of October, 1780, being 15 months, at Brunswick, 42 Whites and 5 Blacks; at Piscataqua, 22; at Elizabeth Town, 19; at Spotswood, 7; at Chatham, 3; married 14 couples; buried 9.

**Rector Trinity Church, New York. Later first Bishop of Nova Scotia.*

I am, Reverend Sir, yours and the Society's most obliged and most Humble Servant.

Addressed—The Reverend Mr. Maurice, Secy. to the Hon. Society, etc., London.

Endorsed—#5—The Reverend Mr. Abraham Beach, Missionary at New Brunswick, etc., January 4, 1782.

Read at a Committee—March, 1782.

New Brunswick in New Jersey, October 1, 1782.

Reverend Sir:

In my letter of the 4th of January last, I acquainted the Society that I opened the Church at *this place on Christmas Day*, and gave my reasons for doing it.

I have now the pleasure to assure them that the measure hath fully answered my expectation. The members of our Church throughout the province express the highest satisfaction, in seeing the service again introduced amongst them.

From almost all the Vestries I have received pressing invitations to officiate amongst them as often as my duty in my own Mission would permit. I have accordingly preached three times at Elizabeth Town, baptized there 11 children, and administered the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to near 40 communicants. At this place the congregation meet regularly on Sundays, and one of them reads prayers and a sermon.

I cannot but think this practice advisable in other congregations which are at present destitute of a minister, especially in these times of uncommon and general depravity, when our Church as well as Religion in general labours under so many difficulties and discouragements. I propose, therefore, to recommend their example to those other congregations which are vacant, and where a person of suitable character can be produced amongst them.

I am happy to acquaint the Society that Mr. Ayers hath so far recovered from his late indisposition, as to be able to perform his duty in his Mission, and hath regularly officiated for more than six months past. Before he was fully recovered and since my last letter to the Society, I preached at Spotswood and baptized there 14 children; at *Shrewsbury* I have preached 3 times and baptized 5 children. At this place I found that Mr. Cooke's* family had for the last three years been deprived of the use of the Glebe belonging to the Mission, and on application from the Vestry

*Rev. Samuel Cooke, M. A. (Cambridge). Ordained in England and became S. P. G. Missionary in Monmouth County, N. J., about 1749, having charge of the churches at *Shrewsbury*, *Freehold* and *Middletown*. In 1774 he visited England and in 1785 was missionary at *Frederickton*, New Brunswick, Canada. He lived on the *St. John's River*. On May 23rd, 1795, he and his son were drowned in crossing the river. The Bishop of Nova Scotia said of him, "Never was a minister of the Gospel more beloved and esteemed, or more universally lamented in his death. All the respectable people, not only of his parish, but of the neighboring country, went into deep mourning on this melancholy occasion." (*Sprague's Annals*, Vol. V., p. 224.)

to devote some part of my service to them, I took the opportunity to acquaint them with my sentiments on the subject of the Glebe, that Mr. Cooke's faithful services to them for a long series of years did not deserve so ungenerous a return, and concluded with proposing to them that Divine Service be performed in their Church on the first Sunday in every month, provided they restore the use of the Glebe to the family of Mr. Cooke. To this proposal they consented, and Mr. Frazer, Mr. Ayers, and myself, alternately perform the service required, esteeming ourselves happy in an opportunity to show our sincere regard for a worthy brother and his amiable family.

At Amboy I have preached three times and baptized 13 White children, 2 Blacks, and 1 Black adult; I have preached once at Newark; at Woodbridge I have officiated twice on a week day, and baptized 3 adults and 4 children; in New Brunswick I have baptized 18.

Thinking myself obliged as a Missionary from the Society to attend the vacant congregations around me, some of which are at the distance of 40 miles, my duty of course becomes fatiguing and expensive. I have, however, cheerfully put up with it and propose to continue to do so, feeling for the unhappy people who, from the unavoidable consequences of war, are much reduced in circumstances, and are consequently unable to contribute anything towards my support.

There is, however, one advantage arising from this circumstance, and that is my endeavours to promote the cause of Religion and Virtue are likely to be more *successful* by being *disinterested*.

I am, Reverend Sir, yours and the Society's most obliged and most Humble Obedient Servant.

Addressed—to the Reverend Mr. Morice.

Endorsed—#13—A letter from the Reverend Abraham Beach, Missionary at New Brunswick in New Jersey, October 1, 1782.

Read at a Committee—December, 1782.

New Brunswick in New Jersey, May 17, 1784.

Reverend Sir:

Sometime before I received your letter of the 2nd of February respecting Mr. Fraser, I had conversed with him on the subject of his *Intemperance*. He appeared very much moved on the occasion and made solemn promises (in which I believe he was very sincere) to guard against such excesses *for the future*, but I am sorry to add he did not persevere with the steadiness I expected in his good resolutions, having since in one instance at length shamefully deviated from the rules of decency and sobriety.

Mr. Fraser hath many good qualities and were it not for the *vice* to which he is addicted would have been a very

useful Missionary. I am still not without hopes of his reformation, and for the *Honor of Religion*, for *the sake of his family*, and for his own sake, I shall do everything in my power to *effect it*.

He was at my house last week and behaved with the utmost decency and propriety. I intended to embrace the opportunity to speak to him on the disagreeable subject of his dismissal from the Society's service, but finding on conversing with him that he had not received *your letter* and was still unacquainted with that *circumstance*, I could not wound my feelings as to open the matter to him, and therefore thought it most prudent to defer it until your letter should come to him, especially as it is expected every moment. As soon as this happens, however disagreeable the task, I shall perform my duty to the Society and to him.

With regard to the other Missionaries you enquired after, I am to inform you that Mr. Chester died, as also Mr. Craig,* late of Chester, died in the course of last winter; and that Mr. Currie† of Radnor is, by reason of the infirmities of old age, unable to perform any duty. He maintains, however, (as I am informed by gentlemen of reputation) a very good character in the part of the country where he resides. Although you made no inquiry respecting Mr. Tingley, yet I think it my duty to acquaint the Society that I am credibly informed he hath accepted a parish in Maryland, and hath removed hither.

With regard to myself, I would just observe that I still continue in the performance of my duty in my own Mission, and in the numerous *variant* congregations around me, and I hope, not without some prospect of *success*, my Notitia I shall defer until I write again at Michaelmas.

I have taken the liberty to draw on the Society's Treasurer for 20 Pounds Sterling, being half a year's salary due at Lady Day last, in favour of Mr. James Douglas and beg acceptance of the bill.

If it would not be giving you too much trouble, I would wish to be informed whether it was the intention of the Society to permit me to draw at Michaelmas next, for the same gratuity which they were so good to allow me to be implied, though not perhaps fully expressed in your letter of the 8th of July last, (viz.) "This gratuity indeed may be considered as an addition to your salary for the ensuing year."

I cannot conclude this letter without observing that the members of our Church in this country are very desirous of procuring a Bishop from England. If their request should be granted, I am fully persuaded it would greatly conserve to the prosperity of the Church, and consequently to the

*Rev. George Craig was an S. P. G. itinerant missionary in various parts of Pennsylvania and appears also to have ministered in New Jersey from 1748 to 1753. He died at Chester, Pa.

†Rev. William Currie is described as "an ex-Dissenting minister in Pennsylvania." He ministered at Radnor, Pa., from 1736 to 1783.

happiness of mankind. I am, Reverend Sirs, yours and the Society's most obliged Humble Servant.

To the Reverend Dr. Morice, Hatton-Garden, London.

New Brunswick in New Jersey, September 29, 1784.

Reverend Sir:

By the ship "America" which sailed from New York about six weeks ago I acquainted the Society through you that I had received an invitation from the Corporation of Trinity Church in New York to be one of their ministers, and mentioned the particulars which led to it.

I acquainted them at the same time that I could not think of taking any step of that nature without first consulting that Venerable Body to whom I am under many great obligations, that until their advice could be obtained I propose to preach at New York as often as I can, and formerly did to vacant congregations in the country and still continue my duty as usual in my own Mission.

This line of conduct I have followed and shall continue to do so until I am favoured with the Society's further disquisitions, which I hope soon to receive.

In the letter I refer to, I observed that it was possible Mr. Boudown could be obtained to supply my Mission at Brunswick, should the Society consent to my removal to New York, but that gentleman hath since my writing removed to Norwalk in Connecticut. However, Mr. Rowland, a worthy clergyman of Staten Island, hath by my desire officiated several times in my Mission to general satisfaction, and bids fair to be useful in this part of the country, and should the Society consent to my accepting the offer made to me at New York, it is probable that with the assistance of this gentleman I can still continue the care of my little flock in the wilderness, for which I have the greatest affection and regard.

However the Society may think proper to dispose of me I shall ever retain a grateful sense of their beneficence, and endeavour to prove as far as I am able, the great and good purposes of their institutions.

Since I sent my last *Notitia*, I have baptized at Brunswick, 21 Whites and 3 Blacks; at Amboy, 5; at Piscataqua, 1 White and 4 Blacks; at Elizabeth Town, 7; at Newark, 3; at Shrewsbury, 7; have married 13 couples; buried 6.

I am, Reverend Sir, yours and the Society's most obliged and most obedient and very Humble Servant.

The Reverend Dr. Morice.

LAWS RELATING TO THE EARLY COLONIAL CHURCH IN VIRGINIA

FROM VOLUME I, HENING'S STATUTES AT LARGE

Compiled by William A. R. Goodwin

II.

Be it also enacted and confirmed That there be tenn pounds of tob'o. per poll & a bushell of corne per poll paid to the ministers within the severall parishes of the collony for all tithable persons, that is to say, as well for all youths of sixteen years of age as upwards, as also for all negro women at the age of sixteen years, And it is also further ordered for the better conveniencie & ease of the ministers that upon the twentieth of November if it be not Sunday, & then upon the day following (notice being first given by the churchwardens a week before,) That the parishoners shall bring in the duties of tenn pounds of tob'o. for the ministers unto a place appointed by the churchwardens in that plantation, And that the ministers be warned to be there, or appoint some others to receive the same, The said churchwardens to give the aforesaid warneing, And it is likewise ordered that the duties of a bushel of corne to be brought in upon the 19th of December to a place appointed by the churchwardens in that plantation by the minister (notice being given as aforesaid,) The payment to be made by two bushells of ears for one bushell of shelled corne, & so rateably, And it is further ordered that if any planter or parishoner do neglect the bringing of the corn or tob'o. as aforesaid, he or they for such default shall forfeit double the quantity of tob'o. or corne to be leavied by distresse by the authority of the commander, And it is further established that the ministers petty duties shall be as followeth.

	lb. tob.
For solemnization of matrimony without a lycense	40
If with a license	100
For burialls	10
For churching	10

For breaking ground in the church the pay is left to the churchwardens & vestrie.

For breaking ground in the chancell att the discretion of the ministers. (Act I continues from page 240 to 243, inclusive.)

Act XIII, page 249, changes the name of Chickahomini Parish to Wallingford.

Act XIV, page 249, deals with the division of Northampton County into two parishes.

Act XVI, page 250, sets the bounds of Linhaven parish.

Act XVII, page 250-251, divides upper Norfolk County into parishes. It also changes the name of Chescake Parish to Hampton Parish. It also establishes the Parish of Bristoll, and establishes bounds of the Parish of Weynoak.

Act XVIII, page 252, confirms the bequest of Benjamin Symms, dec., in founding by his last will and testament a Free School in Elizabeth County.

ACT XX

WHEREAS many great abuses & much detriment have been found to arise both against the law of God and likewise to the service of manye masters of families in the collony occasioned through secret marriages of servants, their masters and mistresses being not any ways made privy thereto, as also by committing of fornication, for preventing the like abuses hereafter, Be it enacted and confirmed by this Grand Assembly that what man servant soever hath since January, 1640, or hereafter shall secretly marry with any mayd or woman servant without the consent of her master or mistres if she be a widow, he or they so offending shall in the first place serve out his or their tyme or tymes with his or their masters or mistresses, and after shall serve his or their master or mistress one compleat year more for such offence committed, And the mayd or woman servant so marrying without consent as aforesaid shall for such her offence double the tyme of service with her master and mistress, And a Freeman so offending shall give satisfaction to the master or mistress by doubling the value of the service and pay a Fine of five hundred pounds of tobacco to the parish where such offence shall be committed, And it is also further enacted and confirmed by the authority of this Grand Assembly that if any man servant shall comit the act of fornication with any mayd or woman servant, he shall for his offence, besides the punishment by the law appointed in like cases, give satisfaction for the losse of her service, by one whole year's service, when he shall be free from his master according to his indentures, And if it so fall out that a freeman offend, as formerly he shall be compelled to make satisfaction to the master or mistris of the said woman servant by his service for one compleat year, or otherwise give forthwith such valuable consideration as the comissioners in their discretion shall think fitt. (Pages 252, 253.)

ACT XXXV

Be it also enacted & confirmed, for the better observation of the Sabbath that no person or persons shall take a voyage uppon the same, except it be to church or for other causes of extreme necessitie upon the penaltie of the forfeiture for such offence of twenty pounds of tobacco being justly convicted for the same.

Be it further enacted & confirmed, for the better observation of the Saboth and for the restraint of divers abuses committed in the

collony by unlawfull shooting on the Sabbath day as aforesaid, unles it shall be for the safety of his or their plantations or corne fields or for defence against the Indians, he or they so offending shall forfeit for his or their first offence being thereof lawfully convicted, if he be a freeman the quantity of twenty pounds of tobacco, and if a servant to be punished at the discretion of his master, And if masters of any such servants be remisse and negligent in the punishing of his servant for the offence aforesaid he shall be liable to the forfeiture of twenty pounds of tobacco, being justly convicted for the same. (Page 261.)

* * *

ACT XL

BE it enacted and confirmed by the authoritie of this Grand Assembly that the 22d day of March be yearly kept holy in commemoration of our deliverance from the Indians at the bloody massacre the 22d March, 1621 [22], And that the ministers of every parish give notice thereof to his parishoners the Sabbath day next before. (Page 263.)

ACT XLI

IT is enacted and confirmed that masters of every family shall bring with them to church on Sondays one fixed and serviceable gun with sufficient powder and shott upon penalty of ten pound of tobacco for every master of a family so offending to be disposed of by the churchwardens who shall leavy it by distresse, and servants being commanded and yet omitting shall receive twenty lashes on his or their bare shoulders, by order from the county courts where he or they shall live. (Page 263.)

ACT LI

WHEREAS it was enacted at an Assembly in January, 1641, that according to a statute made in the third year of the reigne of our sovereign Lord King James of blessed memory, and that no popish recusants should at any time hereafter exercize the place or places of secret councillors, register or comiss: surveyors or sheriffe, or any other publique place, but be utterly disabled for the same, And further it was enacted that none should be admitted into any of the aforesaid offices or places before he or they had taken the oath of allegiance and supremacy, And if any peson (sic) or persons whatsoever should by sinister or corrupt means assume to himselfe any of the aforesaid places or any other publique office whatsoever and refuse to take the aforesaid oaths, he or they so convicted before an Assembly should be dismissed of said office, And for his offence therein forfeit one thousand pounds of tobacco to be disposed of att the next Assembly after conviction, And it is further enacted by the authoritie aforesaid that the statute in force against the popish recusants be duely executed in this government, And that it should not be lawfull under the penaltie aforesaid for any popish preist that shall hereafter arrive to remaine above five days after warning given for his departure by the Governour or comander of the place where he or they shall bee, if wind and weather hinder not his departure, And that the said act should be

in force ten days after the publication thereof, at James City, this present Grand Assembly to all intents and purposes doth hereby confirm the same. (Pages 268-269.)

* * *

ACT LXIV

FOR the preservation of the puritie of doctrine & unitie of the church, It is enacted that all ministers whatsoever which shall reside in the collony are to be conformable to the orders and constitutions of the church of England, and the laws therein established, and not otherwise to be admitted to teach or preach publickly or privatly, And that the Gov. and Counsel do take care that all non-conformists upon notice of them shall be compelled to depart the collony with all conveniencie. (Page 277.)

ACT LXV

IT is enacted and consented to by this Grand Assembly, that the county of Upper Norff. shall have power and priviledge to chuse Burgesses for the severall parishes within the limitts of the said parishes. (Page 277.)

ACT LXVI

Page 277 concerns repeal of Act of 1639 establishing Lowne's Creek Parish, and reenacting bounds of said parish.

ACT LXVII

Page 278, establishes new lines for Wallingford Parish.

ACT LXVIII

Page 278, establishes new Parish in Warwick County, independent of the Parish of Denbigh.

ACT LXIX

Pages 278-79, divides Isle of Wight County into two parishes, i.e., upper and lower, and sets bounds for the same.

ACT LXXI

IT is enacted by this present Grand Assembly that those of his ma'ts. counsell for the collony shall according to his said maj'ts. instructions be freely exempted from all publick charges and taxes, church duties onely excepted. (Page 279.)

ATT A GRAND ASSEMBLY

HOLDEN ATT JAMES CITYE THE 17TH OF FEBRUARY, 1644-5

ACT I

BE it enacted by the Governour, Counsell and Burgesses of this present Grand Assembly for God's glory and the publick benefitt of the collony, to the end that God might avert his heavie judgments that are now upon us, That the last Wednesday in every month be sett apart for a day of Fast and humiliation, And that it be wholly dedicated to prayers and preaching, And because of the scarcity of pastors, many ministers haveing charge of two cures, Be it enacted, That such a minister shall officiate in one cure upon the last Wednesday of everie month; and in his other cure upon the first Wednesday of the ensuing month, And in case of haveing three cures, that hee officiate in his third cure uppon the second Wednesday of the ensuing month, which shall there be their day of fast, That the last act made the 11 of January, 1641, concerning the ministers preaching in the fore-noon and catechiseing in the afternoon of every Sunday be revived and stand in force, And in case any minister do faile so to doe, That he forfeit 500 pound of tobaccoe to be disposed of by the vestrey for the use of the parish. (Pages 289, 290.)

ACT II

THAT everie minister shall reside and abide within his cure to perform such acts of his callinge (vizt.) baptize weak infants, to visit the sick and all other actions which pertain to his ministerial function, upon penalty as aforesaid. (Page 290.)

ACT III

THAT where it soe falls out that any minister have induction into two or more cures farr distant one from another, whareby one cure must necessarily be neglected, It shall be lawfull for the parishioners of such a cure, to make use of any other minister as a lecturer to baptize [sic] or preach, Provided it be without prejudice or hinderance to the incumbent that first had his induction, And that the priviledge shall be allowed to all other parts inconvenient and dangerous for repaire to the parish church. (Page 290.)

ACT IV

THAT the eighteenth day of April be yearly celebrated by thanksgivinge for our deliverance from the hands of the Salvages. (Page 290.)

ACT V

THAT the election of every vestry be in the power of the major part of the parishioners who being warned will appear to make choice of such men as by pluralitie of voices shall be thought fitt, and such warninge to be given either by the minister, churchwardens or head comissioners. (Pages 290, 291.)

ACT VI

THAT whereas the church-wardens have been very negligent in the execution of their duties and office, The county courts shall hereby have power to call them into question, And if just cause be, to punish or fine them as the offence shall deserve. (Page 291.)

ACT XX

BE it enacted by the authoritie of this present Grand Assembly, with consent of Mr. Thomas Hampton, rector of James Cittie parish, in respect of the dangerous times and inconveniencies for the inhabitants of the east side of Archer's Hope Creeke to the head thereof and downe to Warham's ponds, to repaire to the parish church att James Citty, That they be a distinct parish of themselves or shall have power to adjoyne themselves to the parish of Martin's Hundred as they the said inhabitants shall find most convenient. (Page 298.)

(MARCH, 1645-6—SECOND SESSION)

ACT I

WHEREAS it was enacted at a Grand Assembly bearing date the second of March, 1642, concerninge the church government, That the church-wardens of every parish respectively should deliver in a true presentment in writinge of such misdemeanors as to their knowledge have been comitted the yeare before, in that time whilst they were church-wardens, Namely swearing, prophaning God's name and his holy Sabbaths, abuseing his holy word and comandments, contemning his holy sacraments or any thing belonging to his service or worship, It is now further enacted by this present Grand Assembly, That the said church wardens shall not onely present their knowledge of the said misdemeanors, but all persons of evil Fame for the said offences. (Pages 309, 310.)

ACT II

WHEREAS also by the 5th article of the said act it was likewise enacted, That if any person or persons of what degree or condition soever should abuse themselves with the high and fowle offences of adultery, whoredom or fornication or with the loathsome sinne of drunkenness in the abuse of God's creatures, that of those and every of those the said church-wardens should make a true presentment. It is now further enacted, That if any church-warden shall faile in the makeing of their due presentments to the county courts respectively that the comissioners do impose a mulkt or Fine for all and every such neglect; And in case the comissioners shall be remiss in imposing a mulkt or fine upon the church-wardens soe neglecting or in punishing offenders after presentation according to the meritt of the cause, that then the comissioners, upon complaint made shall be finable att the discretion of the Governour and Council, and that

the 7th article of the first act of the 17th Feb., 1644,* concerninge the punishment of the negligence of church-wardens be from henceforth repealed. (Page 310.)

* * *

ACT V

WHEREAS it was enacted the 12th of June, 1641, and continued by an act 17th of February, 1644, That all ministers should preach in the forenoon and catechise in the afternoon of every Sunday, And in case they should faile soe to doe, that then they forfeit 500 lb. of tob'o. to be disposed off by the vestry for the use of the parish: Be it now further enacted, That all masters of Families upon warning given by the ministers in the severall places where they shall officiate, do cause their children and servants to repaire to the places appointed to be instructed and catechised as aforesaid upon the like penaltie that is imposed on the minister, in case of his default, to be disposed as aforesaid, unles sufficient cause be shewn to the contrary. (Pages 311, 312.)

ACT XVI

Page 317 orders that Parish east of Archer's Hope Creek, created in 1644, be called by the name of Harrop parish.

ATT A

GRAND ASSEMBLY

BEGUNNE AT JAMES CITTIE THE 5TH OF OCTOBER, 1646

ACT IV

WHEREAS by Act of Assembly, 1642, It was inacted concerning Ministers' duties that every tithable person within their severall parishes respectively should pay unto their minister tenne pounds of tob'o. per poll: Be it now therefore inacted upon consideration that divers parishes are become very small by reason of the said massacre, and payment by consequence according to the aforesaid rate, of non-sufficiency to support the ministers; That it shall be lawfull for the vestrys of the severall parishes to augment the aforesaid rate of tenne pounds of tob'o. per poll to such competency as they in their discretion shall think fitt. (Page 328.)

* * *

ACT XIV

WHEREAS it is inacted anno 1642, in the ninth article† of the first act of the sayd Assembly, that noe marriage should be solemnized unles by a lycense under the signett from the Gov'r. or the baynes lawfully published in the parish or parishes where both parties do inhabitt: Be it now further inacted that what minister soever shall marry any persons contrary to the said act shall Forfeit the sume of

*Act VI of Feb., 1644-5.

†Ante pg. 241. (Hening's Statutes.)

1,000 lb. tob'o. to be disposed by the comissioners for the use of the county. (Page 332.)

ACT III

ATT A
GRAND ASSEMBLY

HELD THE THIRD OF NOVEMBER, 1647

PRESENT UT ANTEA

UPON divers informations presented to this Assembly against severall ministers for their neglects and refractory refusing after warning given them to read common prayer or divine service upon the Sabbath dayes contrary to the cannons of the church and acts of parliament therein established, for future remedie hereof: Be it enacted by the Gov'r. Council and Burgesses of this Grand Assembly, That all ministers in their severall cures throughout the collony doe duely upon every Sabbath day read such prayers as are appointed and prescribed unto them by the said booke of comon prayer, And be it further enacted as a penaltie to such as have neglected or shall neglect their duty herein, That on [sic] parishioner shall be compelled either by distresse or otherwise to pay any manner of tythes or duties to any unconformist as aforesaid. (Pages 341, 342.)

ACT X

Page 347, establishes Southwark parish.

ATT A
GRAND ASSEMBLY

HELD AT JAMES CITY THE 10TH DAY OF OCTOBER, 1649

ACT II

WHEREAS it appeareth to severall Grand Assemblies that the lists of tithable persons are very imperfect, and that notwithstandinge the yearly importation of people into the collonie, the number of tithables in the said lists is rather diminished then augmented, which is in great part conceived, by this Assembly, to happen, in that all under the age of sixteen yeers are exempted from the lists, and that once passing under that age they are seldom or never acknowledged to exceed the same, in respect of the impossibility of, or at least unlikelyhood of produceinge convincing proofes against them: Bee it therefore enacted, for the preventing of the like abuse hereafter through false & imperfect lists, That all male servants imported hereafter into the collony of what age soever they be, shall be brought into the lists and shall be liable to pay country leavyes, excepting in this act such as are natives of this collony and such as are imported free, either by

their parents or otherwise, who are exempted from leavies, bein^d under the said age of sixteen years.

And it is further enacted, That the lists be yearly taken by the 25th of June at the farthest, and presented to the county courts, and that the perticular lists be given in under the hand of the masters of the severall Families, who are to pay trebble assessments for every person they give in short of their due number, and the ministers are to have tithes of all such as are now adjudged tithable. (Pages 361, 362.)

ACT*

Page 374 establishes Ocquhanocke parish in the county of Northampton.

ACT*

Page 374 orders that plantation of Thos. Stagge be added to West-over parish.

ACT*

Page 378. IT is ordered by this present Grand Assembly, That Mr. Robert Bracewell, Clarke, be suspended, and is not in a capacitie of serving as a Burgesse, since it is unpresidentiall, and may produce bad consequence. (RAND. MS. BL. MS.)

ACT*

Page 388 establishes Marston parish, north of Queen's Creek.

MARCH 10, 1655†

ACT IX

WHEREAS there are many places destitute of ministers, and like still to continue soe, the people content not payinge their accustomed dues, which makes them negligent to procure those which should teach and instruct them, soe by this improvident saveing they loose the greatest benefitt and comfort a Christian can have, by hearing the word and use of the blessed sacraments, Therefore be it enacted by this present Grand Assembly, That all countys not yet laid out into parishes shall be divided into parishes the next county court after publication hereof, and that all tithable persons in every parish within this collony respectively, in the vacancy of their minister, pay 15 lb. of tobacco per poll yearly, and that tobacco to be deposited in the hands of the commissioners of the severall counties, to be by them disposed of in the first place for the building of a parish church, and afterwards the surplusage thereof (if any be) to go towards the purchasing of a gleab and stock for the next minister that shall be set-

**The acts and resolutions of this assembly are not numbered or divided in any manner. They appear to be the joint deliberations of the governor, council and burgesses, exercising legislative, executive and judicial powers.*

†(This should be March, 1655-6.)

tled there:: Provided that the vestrys of the severall parishes be responsible for the said tobacco so leaved. (Pages 399, 400.)

ACT XII

WHEREAS it is much to be doubted, That the comon enemie the Indians, if opportunity serve, would suddenly invade this collony to a totall subversion of the same, and whereas the only means for the discovery of their plotts is by alarms, of which no certainty can be had in respect of the frequent shooting of gunns in drinking, whereby they proclaim, and as it were, justifie that beastly vice spending much powder in vaine, that might be reserved against the comon enemie, Be it therefore enacted that what person or persons soever shall, after publication hereof, shoot any gunns at drinkeing (marriages and Funeralls onely excepted,) that such person or persons so offending shall forfeit 100 lb. of tobacco to be levied by distresse in case of refusall and to be disposed of by the militia in ammunition towards a magazine for the county where the offence shall be comitted. (Pages 401, 402.)

ACT*

Page 404, establishes Stratton Major parish on north side of the York River.

ACT*

Page 409. BY reason of the great inconvenience occasioned by the partition of the Isle of Wight county by Pagan Creeke, it is ordered that in each parish of the said county a monthly court be held on the 9th day of every moneth successively each parish still continuing equally relative to the comissioners of the county in gennerall and that the com'rs. of each parish appoint places convenient for the holding of the courts aforesaid.

AT A

GRAND ASSEMBLY

HELD AT JAMES CITY BY PROROGATION FROM THE 10TH OF MARCH, 1655, TO THIS INSTANT, FIRST OF DECEMBER, 1656,
WHEREIN WAS INACTED AS FOLLOWETH

ACT V

CONCERNING MINISTERS IMPORTED

WHEREAS many congregations in this collony are destitute of ministers whereby religion and devotion cannot but suffer much impairment and decay, which want of the destitute congregations ought to be supplied by all meanes possible to be used, As also to invite and encourage ministers to repaire hither and merchants to bring them in, Bee it therefore hereby enacted for the reasons aforesaid, that what person or persons soever shall at his or their proper cost and charge

*Acts not numbered.

transport a sufficient minister into this collony without agreement made with him shall receive for satisfaction of his or their said charges of him the said minister or they that shall entertaine him for their minister, twenty pounds sterling by bill of exchange or two thousand pounds of tobacco, and also for what money shall be disbursed for them besides their transportation to be allowed for. (Page 418.)

ACT X

WHEREAS by a former act of Assembly priviledge was granted to any parish to send one or two Burgesses, and severall disputations ariseing thereupon, how the charges of the said parochiall Burgesses should be defrayed, It is ordered that everie county shall pay the Burgesses usually send from the respective counties as formerly, and if any parish shall return a Burgesse for their perticular occasion, then the charge of the said Burgesse to be levied in and by the parish that elected him. (Page 421.) (RAND. MS. BL. MS. JEF. MS.)

It is ordered by the Assembly . . . that lycenses for mariages and all other priviledges and comodities enjoyed by the precedent Governours, be confirmed to the present Governour. . . . (Pages 423, 424.)

FOR encouragement of the ministers in this countrey and that they may be the better enabled to attend both publick commands and their private cures, It is ordered, That from henceforth each minister, in his owne person with six other servants of his family shall be free from publique levies, Allwaies provided they be examined by Mr. Phillip Mallory and Mr. John Green, and they to certifie their abilities to the Governour and Councill, who are to proceed according to their judgement. (Page 424.)

IT is ordered that the parish of Bristoll have power to keep courts within their said parish and to heare and determine all differences herein as at county courts which courts are to be kept by the comisioners dwelling in the said parish, but either plt. or defendant if they crave it shall have license to appeale to Charles Cittie or Henrico county courts. (Page 424.)

AT A

GRAND ASSEMBLY

HELD AT JAMES CITTIE, MARCH 13TH, 1657-8

ACT I

CHURCH GOVERNMENT SETTLED

BEE it enacted by this present Grand Assembly concerning Church government as followeth, that all matters concerning the vestrey, their agreements with their ministers, touching the church wardens, the poore and other things concerninge the parishes or parishoners respectively be referred to their owne ordering and dis-

posing from time to time as they shall think fitt, That register bookes be kept by their appointments of all christenings, burialls and marriages and the ministers only shall celebrate marriages and not without lycense as formerly or there publication of banes uppon three severall dayes shall be fined tenne thousand pounds of tobacco to ease the leavye of that county: No lycense to be granted without certificate under the hands of the parents, masters or guardians of the parties to be married. (Page 433.)

ACT II

AGAINST DRUNKENNES, &c

THAT all good meanes be used in the severall countie courts and parishes respectively for the suppressing of the odious sinnes of drunkennes, blasphemous swearing and curseing, scandalous liveing in adultery and Fornication, And that all such person & persons of what degree or qualitie soever be severly punished and gennerrally to be held incapable of being a wittnes between partie and partie, and of bearing any publique office in the goverment of this collony; Hee that shall be three times convicted in open court of either of the said offences shall be accounted a common drunkard, swearer, &c. the first offence of drunkenness to be fiftie pounds of tobacco, the first offence of swearing to be twelve pounds of tobacco, and for servants & people under age to be referred to the magistrates or com'rs. in the county courts to give them correction in case the parents or masters refuse to pay the fine, The second offence theise mulkts and punishments to be doubled. (Page 433.)

ACT III

THE SABBOTH TO BEE KEPT HOLY

THAT the Lord's day be kept holy, and that no journeys be made except in case of emergent necessitie on that day, that no goods bee laden in boates nor shooteing in gunns or the like tending to the prophanation of that day, which duty is to be taken care of by the ministers and officers of the severall churches, & by the comissioners in their places, and the partie delinquent to pay one hundred pounds of tobacco or layd in the stocks, and to take care that servants and others do repaire to their severall churches everie Lord's day. (Page 434.)

ACT IV

AGAINST BIGGAMY

THE lawes of England against biggamy or haveing more then one wife or husband shall be putt in execution in this cuntrye. (Page 434.)

ACT XIV

CONCERNING SECRET MARRIAGES

WHEREAS many greate abuses and much detriment hath been found to arise both against the lawe of God and likewise to the service of many masters of Families in this collonie, occasioned through secret marriages of servants, their masters and mistresses not any waies made privie thereunto, As also by comitting of Fornication; for the prevention of the like abuses hereafter, Bee it enacted, and confirmed by this Grand Assembly that what servant soever hath since January, 1656, or hereafter shall secretly marrie with any maid or mistresse, (if she be a widowe) hee or they soe offending shall in the first place serve out his or their times with his or their master or mistresse, and after shall serve his or their said master or mistresse, one complete yeare more for such offence comitted, And the maid or woman servant so marrying without consent as aforesaid shall for such her offence to her master or mistresse serve one year after her freedom by indenture, And a freeman so offending shall give satisfaction to the master or mistresse by doubling the valew of the service.

And it is also further enacted and confirmed by the authoritie of this Grand Assembly that if any mans' servant shall hereafter comit the act of Fornication with any maid* . . . appointed in like cases give satisfaction for the loss of her service to her said master or mistresse by his service of one compleat yeare, or pay fifteen hundred pounds of tobacco and give securitie to save harmeless the parish and her said master or mistresse, and defraye all charge of keeping the child, And a freeman so offending shall for his offence pay fifteen hundred pounds of tobacco or one year's service to the master or mistresse of the woman or maid servant of whom hee shall gett a bastard, As also give securitie to save the parish and her said master and mistresse harmeless & defray all charge about keeping the child, And the woman servant so offending to suffer according to lawe, Also be it enacted that every person comitting Fornication shall pay five hundred pounds of tobacco to the use of the parish where the said act is comitted or be whipt. (Pages 438, 439.)

ACT LII

WHEREAS it hath been the frequent practice of sherriffs and officers for their owne ease and benefitt to repaire to the churches on Sabbboth dayes and other publique meetings on purpose to serve executions, warrants and other writts, by which meanes many times those duties are neglected by such who are in danger of arrests, It is therefore ordered, and bee it enacted by this present Grand Assembly, that no officer or officers shall from henceforth execute any writt or warrants upon any person or perons in time of exercize or muster for that day, nor on the Sabbboth day. (Page 457.)

**(So in MS.—See Act XX of 1642-3, ante pa. 252, of which this act is an amendment.—From the above act it would seem that the words torn out were "or woman servant, he shall for his offence, besides the punishment by law.")*

ACT LVIII

BEE it enacted and confirmed by the authoritie of this present Grand Assembly, That the two and twentieth day of March and the eighteenth day of Aprill be yearly kept holie in comemoration of our deliverance from the Indians at the bloody massacres the 22d day of March, 1621, and the eighteenth of April, 1644, And that the ministers of everie parish give notice thereof to the parishoners the Sabbath day next before. (Pages 459, 460.)

ACT LIX

IT is enacted and confirmed by the authoritie aforesaid, That all such persons as were here or came in at the last comeing in of Sir Tho: Yates[†] shall be exempted from their personal service to the warrs ^{†*"Gates" in all the former acts.*} and all publique charges, ministers, duties excepted, not exempting their families (excepting such as shall be employed in cheife.) (Page 460.)

ACT LXXV

BEE it enacted by this Grand Assembly, That it shall be lawfull for the comissioners of the severall counties not yet laid out into parishes, with the consent of the inhabitants thereof to devide their counties into parishes as by the major part of the said counties shall be agreed. (Page 469.)

ACT CVII

Encouragement for Ministers and their Transporters. (This is nearly a literal transcript of act V of Dec. 1656, ante pa. 418.) (Page 481.)

APRIL THE FIRST, 1658

UPON the petition of the inhabitants of Middle Plantation and Harrop parishes, It is ordered, That both of them be henceforth incorporated into one parish which is to be called the parish of Middle-towne and the bounds of the same to be those already includeing both the aforesaid former parishes. (Page 498.)

ACT X

WHEREAS many disputes and controversies have arose about the defraying of the charge of the parochiall Burgesses, by reason the vestrys of the said parishes have not been sufficiently qualified for laying the same uppon the people, It is hereby enacted and ordained, That the vestrie of any parish which shall elect any Burgess shall be impowered to order payment for his charges, And in case any persons within the parish electing shall refuse to make payment according to their order, then the collectors shall by vertue of that order make distresse for the same, which shall be accounted authentique in any court of judicature within this collonie. (Pages 520, 521.)

AT A
GRAND ASSEMBLY

HELD AT JAMES CITTIE, THE THIRTEENTH OF MARCH, 1659-60

ACT XX

AN ACT TO RECORD ALL MARRIAGES, BIRTHS AND BURRIALLS

WHEREAS many differences arise about the age of orphants, and enquiries are often made for persons imported into the collonie, of whose death no positive certificate can be granted for want of registers, Bee it therefore enacted, That every parish shall well, truly and plainly record and sett downe in a booke provided for the purpose, all marriages, deaths and births that shall happen within the precincts of the parish, and in the month of March in every yeare, the person appointed by the parish so to do, shall make true certificate into the clerke of every county to the intent the same may there remaine on record for ever, And if any master of a Family or any other whose duty it is to give notice and information to the partie that is appointed to enter the same on record shall faile to doe the same within one month after such marriage, death or birth shall for every such default forfeit one hundred pounds of tobacco, And if such persons as are appointed by the parish shall faile to make such returnes to the clerke of everie county in the said month of March as aforesaid shall forfeit one thousand pounds of tobacco, The one moety of the said forfeiture to be paid unto the governour, The other moety to such person or persons as shall discover the same, and make prooffe thereof in any court of record within this collony, to bee recovered by the usuall action of debt in any of the said courts, And the vestry of each parish upon publication of this act to appoint such an officer in every parish. (Page 542.)

WHEREAS severall parishes have exhibited to this Assembly their complaints against the sherriffes of the county for refusing to take notice or make returne of the Burgesses by them elected, Whereby their priviledges graunted them by the law have been infringed, It is therefore ordered that no sherriff for the future upon the desire of the vestry to have a parochial Burgesse manifested to him shall refuse to convene the people at a certaine time and convenient place, And be there present to take off their election and accordingly to returne their Burgesse. (Page 545.)

ORDERED, That two thousand pounds of tobacco be paid unto Mr. Phillip Mallary for his officiateing at the last two Assemblies out of the levy in Yorke county. (Page 549.)

ORDERED, That Mr. Peter Lansdale and Mr. Phillip Mallory be desired to preach at James towne the next Assembly. (Page 549.)

THE REVEREND ALEXANDER GARDEN

By Edgar Legare Pennington

III.

GARDEN AND WHITEFIELD

A NAME always associated with Garden's is that of George Whitefield, perhaps the foremost preacher of the Eighteenth Century. Whitefield was a priest of the Church of England. He had been sent to Savannah and had officiated at Christ Church there; but his major interest was the orphanage which he started at Bethesda, a few miles from the town. He decided that this benevolent enterprise was of more importance than the direction of his parish; and he began to devote his extraordinary energy and oratory to the raising of funds for its upkeep and expansion.

When he first visited Charles Town—August, 1738, he was still in deacon's orders. He was then on his way back to England for further ordination; and he remained in the South Carolina town about ten days. He considered St. Philip's Church very beautiful. Mr. Garden treated him courteously; and he described the commissary as "a good soldier of Jesus Christ."¹ Garden told him of the arbitrary way in which John Wesley had been subjected to injustice in Georgia, and assured him that if the same sort of proceedings were commenced against him, he would defend him with his life and fortune.² At that time, Whitefield had not begun to exhibit his disregard of Church forms and his tendencies towards enthusiasm and radicalism, which later made him obnoxious to the clergy of his own communion and even irritated the dissenters.

When Whitefield paid his second visit to Charles Town, he was a changed man. He had become as well known for his non-restraint so far as Church-usage was concerned, and for his opposition to all who disagreed with his Calvinistic views, as for his charitable project. Reaching Charles Town, he found Commissary Garden absent. The curate did not feel empowered to lend him the use of St. Philip's

¹*Tyerman: Life of Whitefield, I., 142.*

²*Gillies: Life of Whitefield, 29.*

pulpit; so Whitefield preached in non-Anglican houses of worship. A few days later, he called on Garden, and was received with coldness. The commissary charged him with breaking the laws of the Church and his ordination vows as well; he warned him that if he preached in any public Church in the province, he would suspend him. Whitefield remarked that he would regard that warning as much as a Pope's bull. A warm discussion took place; and Whitefield was ordered to leave Mr. Garden's house.

The commissary wrote the Bishop of London about the conversation he had with Whitefield. He said: "We had no sooner entered into conversation, but it very plainly appeared to me, that he was more desirous of being excluded than admitted into the pulpits of the Church of England. In a word, he gave himself such liberties in accusing the clergy of false doctrine, hypocrisy, and neglect of duty, that I very easily showed him he was not to expect any Church pulpit in this province."³

In disregard of Garden's advice, Whitefield continued to preach, using the Independent meeting-houses. He freely attacked the clergy of the Church of England, to the entertainment and relish of his hearers.

It was in the year 1740 that Whitefield visited Charles Town for the second time. On Sunday, the 16th of March, after preaching at an early hour at the Scots' meeting-house, he attended service at St. Philip's Church. Mr. Garden, who was filled with indignation at Whitefield's undisciplined course, denounced him from the pulpit as a Pharisee who came to the Temple, saying, "Lord, I thank Thee that I am not as other men."⁴

The next two days, Whitefield preached twice daily, and collected seventy pounds for his orphans. One of his sermons was aimed at Garden; and he chose for his text: "Alexander the coppersmith did me much evil; the Lord reward him according to his works."⁵

In the meantime, a bitter correspondence was in process between the two clergymen. Garden reminded Whitefield that he was slandering his brother clergy, that he was accusing them of not preaching the truth as it was to be found in Jesus, that he was falling from the established doctrine.⁶ He asserted that Whitefield's sermons were not calculated to edify, but "to puzzle and amuse the minds of the populace."⁷ He criticized two letters which the visitor had published in Charles Town, and said:—

³*Fulham MSS., N. C., S. C., Ga., #74; Stevens & Brown L. C. Trans.*

⁴*St. Luke XVIII., 11.*

⁵*II. Timothy IV., 14.*

⁶*Garden: Six Letter, 7-23.*

⁷*Ibid., 23-32.*

"Had you observed common decency or good manners in them, you had then been only an object of common pity; but your contrary behaviour exposes you to the utmost scorn and contempt of every reader."⁸

Whitefield, he added, had slandered Archbishop Tillotson, saying that his Grace "knew no more of Christianity than Mahomet." He called on him, in particular, to retract his statements concerning the Archbishop.⁹

One can imagine how little a man of Whitefield's strong will would be swayed by any efforts to silence him. He left the town, but was back on the 2nd of July and began preaching twice every day.

The following Sunday (July 6th), he went to St. Philip's Church, where Mr. Garden again attacked him and the enthusiasts whom he represented. He sent word for Whitefield to absent himself from the sacrament until he could speak to him. So Whitefield retired to his lodgings. On the 7th of July, the commissary summoned him to appear before him at St. Philip's Church, on the 15th, to answer certain questions "concerning the mere health of his soul, and the reformation and correction of his manners and excesses, and chiefly for omitting to use the form of prayer prescribed in the communion book." Undaunted, Whitefield took a trip into the rural sections the same day and continued his preaching. But he returned to Charles Town by Sunday, July 13th.

On the 15th of July, he appeared in St. Philip's, according to the citation. There were many spectators present; and Mr. Garden and four other clergymen constituted the tribunal. Whitefield protested against the jurisdiction of the court over him; he alleged that he was not subject to Commissary Garden, as he belonged in the field of Georgia. He questioned the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London over his case. Then he asked for a postponement of a day; the request was granted.

Next morning, the accused tendered his written exceptions, proposing to refer the matter to six impartial arbitrators, three to be named by Garden. The court declared that the exceptions be repelled.

Whitefield appealed to the Lords Commissioners appointed by the King for receiving and hearing appeals in spiritual causes. This appeal was granted; and a year and a day were allowed him for the prosecution of his appeal. All further proceedings were stayed pending that period.

The commissary and his court caused Whitefield no worry.

⁸*Ibid.*

⁹*Ibid.*, 42ff.

While the hearings were prolonged from day to day, he kept preaching. He pictured himself as a man persecuted for a principle and in the hands of the Lord's enemies. His attitude is revealed in the following incident. He was in Charles Town a few months later; and while there, he revised and corrected a letter written by one of his converts for the press, libelling the clergy in general and Garden in particular. He gave bond; but he wrote in his Journal:—"Blessed be God for this further honour! I think this may be called Persecution. I think it is for righteousness' sake."

At last the term for prosecuting his appeal expired; and there could be no doubt that Whitefield had failed to follow up his plea. So the case was resumed, as if no appeal had been made. Whitefield was summoned to appear before the court; but he was not there. The charges were read. He had, notwithstanding his ordination vows, omitted to use the Prayer Book; he had officiated in various meeting-houses in public without using the form of prayer prescribed. The final decree was, that Whitefield be suspended from his office and "pronounced, declared, and published openly in the face of the Church."

Looking back over this celebrated episode, we see a contest between two strong men, each zealous for a principle. But there was something more involved—the Church's claim on the loyalty of its own ministers. Whitefield was a priest of the Church; he was employed as a missionary. He knew that Commissary Garden was the official representative of the Bishop of London; and Whitefield must have known that he was guilty of insubordination in ignoring the Commissary's orders in the limits of his own jurisdiction. When he was ordered deacon, he had promised reverently to obey his ordinary (the Bishop) and other chief ministers of the Church, "and them to whom the charge and governance over (him) is committed, following with a glad mind and will their godly admonitions."¹⁰ He could not have been ordained to the Anglican ministry without subscribing to the use of the Book of the Common Prayer in the public prayer and administration of the sacraments, and none other. No one can defend his disregard of the ecclesiastical law, to which he had pledged conformity, or his inconsistency in attacking the constituted authorities of his Church.

Yet Whitefield was an earnest, sincere man. In his zeal, he felt that there was some higher law which should enlist his allegiance. An answer to Mr. Garden's contentions was published at the time, which illustrates the sentiment favourable to Whitefield.

¹⁰*Church of England Book of Common Prayer: Ordering of Deacons.*

"And thus ends this famous and first ecclesiastical or rather clerical court in the British colonies. But what a thousand pities, that it was not the first time erected to punish some notorious immorality or other, either in the Episcopal clergy or people, to whom alone it belongs, and among whom, as well as others, there are notorious immoralities enough abounding in all the colonies!

"Or if an Episcopal clergyman must be the primary object of this commissarial power and severity, what a thousand pities that their first court was not erected to punish some or other for playing at cards and dice, or haunting taverns, or too much constant drinking, or some other misdemeanour, which they need not take much pains to find or prove!

"But instead of this: to begin with a young clergyman of zeal to promote the highest degree of piety, as we find none superior since the Apostles' days."¹¹

¹¹*Croswell: Answer to Garden's Letters, 58.*

Garden's side of the case is shown in a letter to his parishioners, where he states:—

"Not the matter but the manner, not the doctrines he delivered but the agreeableness of the delivery, had all the effect upon you."

If he had mistaken in opposing Whitefield, he said, "sure I am, that I have acted an honest and faithful one, to the best of my capacity and knowledge. * * * Had I consulted with flesh and blood; consulted my own ease, and how to avoid that storm of wrath, obloquy, and reproach I sustained from the zealot party among you; I needed only to have acquiesced in the wild scene without opposition, and suffered the delusion to have taken such cause and event as might happen. But how then could I answer either to God, my lawful superiors in his Church, or to my own conscience?

"No, my brethren, you are the flock lawfully committed to my charge, of whom the Holy Ghost has made me overseer; and, therefore, am I jealous over you with a Godly jealousy. I saw the wolf a-coming; a vain, visionary creature, who would fill your heads with visions and new revelation, with speculative perplexing notions of justification, irresistible grace, effectual calling, perseverance, assurance, predestination, or absolute, eternal decrees of election and reprobation; and, therefore, saw I it my duty, not to flee, but to rise up in your behalf, for your safety and defence."

IV.

GARDEN'S LATER YEARS

The conversion of the negroes was one of Mr. Garden's chief concerns. On the 6th of May, 1740, he wrote the Secretary of the Venerable Society some views gleaned from his study and experience. He felt that the evangelization of the negroes in the gross, or inclusive of the whole body of slaves, would be a foolish attempt, since there were so many ages, nations, and languages represented.¹² The missionary should commence with those who were home-born and under ten years of age. Sending schoolmasters from England to labour among the negroes would do little good; instead, he advised the use of negro schoolmasters, slaves themselves but educated for this service and employed in it. He proposed that every owner of from eighty to a hundred slaves should send to school a capable male negro, till he be taught to read the Bible, to say the Church catechism, and to use the Book of Common Prayer. Then he could be used as a teacher for the slave children. But he realized that no one would agree to put this proposal into practice, as it would involve the loss of the slave's service. He had even tried to have such a law enacted; and had failed, as men's property was at stake. Therefore, he suggested that the S. P. G. appoint three, four, or more clergymen as their attorneys, with directions to purchase home-born male slaves not under twelve years, and instruct them; then they would be employed as schoolmasters.¹³

This letter was transmitted to the Bishop of Oxford, with a note stating that the Society had approved of the purchase of two negro youths by Mr. Garden, at the expense of the Society, for instruction.¹⁴ In January, 1742, Mr. Garden bought two boys, fourteen and fifteen years old. He kept them under his own roof, and sent them to school every day. They made considerable progress.¹⁵

The Reverend Mr. Whitefield thought the plan was impractical; and wrote the Society his ideas on the subject. He said that few negroes would submit to being taught by a young negro; furthermore, it was doubtful whether the authorities would permit the slaves to be taught to write.¹⁶ Here we see the roles reversed. Garden was the idealist, while Whitefield faced the cold facts of the situation.

¹²*The negroes of Garden's day showed great varieties of dialect and racial characteristics. Some of them were fresh from Africa. As a whole, they had not acquired a homogeneity which would enable them to be treated as a whole.*

¹³*Lambeth MSS., 1123, I., No. 18; Stevens & Brown L. C. Trans.*

¹⁴*Ibid., No. 19; S. P. G. Abstract, 1741, p. 68.*

¹⁵*S. P. G. B-10, #138; Stevens & Brown L. C. Trans.*

¹⁶*Lambeth MSS., 1123, I., No. 29; Stevens & Brown L. C. Trans.*

In reality, there were insuperable obstacles to this interesting scheme. The local feeling against the negro was very strong; there were rumours of intended uprisings. The Spaniards were trying to induce the negroes to escape to St. Augustine, with offers of freedom. So acute was the fear of possible violence that on holidays, such as Easter, Whitsunday, and Christmas, a guard was maintained to prevent disturbance.

With characteristic optimism and determination, Garden founded a school in Charles Town, in 1742, for the training of negro youths as instructors of their race. The school was continued with success for more than twenty years. Many adult slaves attended it in the evenings. This project was conducted by the Church in the face of great difficulties, and at a time when the government had not a single institution for the education of the fifty thousand slaves in the colony.¹⁷ More than sixty negro children were instructed in the school daily. In 1744, it was reported that eighteen were reading the Testament very well, that twenty were in the Psalter. The number had increased so as to give employment to both young schoolmasters. As Garden wrote the Secretary of the Society (October 18th, 1744), the school "succeeds even beyond my first Hopes or Expectation. Upwards of Sixty Negro Children are now Daily taught in it, the Principles of our holy Religion, & to read the Scriptures; (15 of which are now capable to read the Testament very well, & 20 more are in Psalters, & the rest in the Alphabet and Spelling Books,) and the Number still gradually increasing."¹⁸

In 1746, Garden visited England. He declared that he had left all things relating to the Church and the clergy in South Carolina in good order. The number of people in the negro school had now reached seventy; fifty-five children were taught in the daytime, and fifteen adult slaves attended at night. He said that "he plainly perceived a very general and earnest desire among negro parents of having their children instructed, and also an emulation among many of them that are capable of instruction."¹⁹

Three years later, 1749, he resigned as commissary, having given twenty-three useful years to the duties of that office. He felt the advance of old age and its infirmities. In his report to the Bishop of London, February 1st, 1750, he stated that he had always held the annual visitation of the clergy, when he took pains to comply with the Bishop's instructions. He had proceeded during his term against four irregular clergymen. Two of that number had resigned rather than face trial; one had been suspended from his office and benefice;

¹⁷200 *Years of the S. P. G.*, 18.

¹⁸*S. P. G. B-12*, #119; *Stevens & Brown L. C. Trans.*

¹⁹*Hawkins: Historical Notices, S. P. G.*, 61.

the other (Whitefield) he had suspended only from his office. He had found difficulties in the law; and felt that the commissary's authority was of little avail against the irregularities of the clergymen. It was easy for the accused to make exceptions against the commissary as judge, alleging personal enmity, and to nominate arbiters who would stand out against the commissary and provoke a deadlock. The law contained no provision as to the judge in case of a deadlock; the proceedings, therefore, would come to nothing.²⁰ Thus we see the drawbacks in the way of Church discipline without a resident bishop. Mr. Garden, the most painstaking and indefatigable of the colonial commissaries, recognized the limitations of his office.

In October, 1753, he resigned the rectorship of St. Philip's also. On the 31st of March, the following year, he preached his farewell sermon, after a rectorate of thirty-four years. His text was the first verse of the tenth chapter of Romans:—

“Brethren, my heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel is, that they might be saved.”

The vestry commended his piety, zeal, and candour in his sacred character and functions.²¹ He had been a positive force in the religious, educational, and even secular life of South Carolina; and the high level maintained by the Church during its colonial regime may be attributed largely to his example and oversight. Returning once more to England, to end his days in retirement, he found the climate too severe; so he came back to Charles Town. There he died, the 27th of September, 1756, at the age of seventy-one.

In their testimonial, the vestry of St. Philip's avowed that he was “strict and impartial.” They said:—

“His appearance as one of the visitors of the free school in Charles Town was the sure precursor of a strict examination. He did not permit the teachers, as they are very fond of doing, to point out the places for examination.”

He was attentive, they added, to the religious training of his children and servants. He was careful whom he admitted as sponsors for those baptised; and he caused children who had been privately baptised, because of sickness, to be presented for public reception in the Church. He refused the communion to immoral persons; and admitted no young person to the sacrament till he was satisfied that he understood the nature of the same. He would not marry anyone during Lent or on the other feast days prescribed by the Church, or

²⁰*Fulham MSS., S. C., #290; Stevens & Brown L. C. Trans.*

²¹*Dalcho: Historical Account * * * Church in S. C., 166.*

in any manner not strictly conformable to the Book of Common Prayer. He gave the exact tenth of his whole income yearly to the poor. "In everything he was methodical. He carefully digested his plans, and steadily adhered to them."

No one was appointed commissary in South Carolina after his death. Of him it has been said that none exceeded him in the hold on the hearts of his people, and none left a more lasting place upon the Church and the community at large.²²

²²Perry: *American Episcopal Church, I.*, 390.

BOOK REVIEWS

HISTORY OF ST. PAUL'S PARISH, NEW HAVEN, 1830-1930. *By Frances Bishop Barney.*

THIS is a welcome addition to the ever-growing list of parochial histories. St. Paul's is the daughter of the historic Trinity Church which still stands in the Public Square of New Haven, an historic monument of the beginnings of the Church of England in a rock-ribbed Puritan community. St. Paul's was consecrated April 22, 1830, long before the days of railroads; when New Haven had a population of ten thousand and the Whipping Post on the green was still in use. It became an independent parish in 1845 with the Rev. Samuel Cooke as its first rector. The parish has given three bishops to the Church—Abram N. Littlejohn, the brilliant first Bishop of Long Island; the wise and beloved Edwin S. Lines, Bishop of Newark, and the Rt. Rev. James De Wolf Perry, Presiding Bishop. The story of the hundred years is well and clearly written; amply illustrated and excellently printed. It lacks but one thing—so essential to all historical works—an index.

OLD TESTAMENT LIFE AND LITERATURE. *By I. G. Matthews. New Edition Revised. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1934. Pp. 358. \$1.75.*

THIS is a new and revised edition of a work first published in 1923. In its original form it was a setting forth in non-technical language not only of the literature and history of the Old Testament, but also of its background. In this new edition advantage has been taken of the opportunity to revise some of the matter in the light of the knowledge developed during the last ten years, but also to add new valuable material, including some excellent maps. There is a discriminating selective Bibliography and an excellent index. It is an admirable book to place in the hands of lay men and women.



Samuel Connely.

Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church

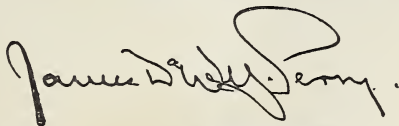
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No. 3.

FOREWORD

Turning points in the history of the Anglican Episcopate have their origin in deep-seated causes, not easily traced. They become known to the world in the light of vivid personalities. As we view the rise of the Archiepiscopal See in Canterbury through the career of St. Augustine, and as we watch its survival secured by the integrity and wisdom of Matthew Parker, so we find the gift of the Episcopate to the Church in America accomplished in the Consecration and administration of Samuel Seabury. Many have been willing to rest upon the knowledge of his election and elevation to the office of Bishop as the sufficient fact of interest and importance to the future. The sesqui-centennial of the event brings to mind much more than an ecclesiastical occurrence. It tells a story, contained in these pages, of patient fortitude and of staunch adherence to a mighty purpose fraught with the religious destinies of a Continent, fulfilled in the face of difficulty and of determined opposition. Above all, it reveals a character which upholds a high ideal for those who in the succession of the Apostolic ministry may look back to their first American Bishop as a man of God. Samuel Seabury has left to the Episcopal Church in the United States a tradition which those who know it will forever cherish as a priceless heritage.



Presiding Bishop.

THE SEABURY FAMILY

By Arthur Adams

THE history of the Seabury family in America begins with this record, found in Boston Town Records (Second Report of the Record Commission of the City of Boston. First Part, page 43): "Also this day (the 25th day of the 9th month, November, 1639), John Seaberry, a Seaman hath with leave bought our brother Walter Merrye's house, and half an Acre under it in the Mylne feild, and so is allowed for an Inhabitant." In the Boston "Book of Possessions (Ibid, Part 2, page 6), this property is thus described: "One house and garden, about half an acre, bounded with Isaac Grosse northwest: Walter Merry southeast and southwest: and the sea or bay northeast." The site of this first house and garden may today be readily located in Boston.

It was sold by one John Milom, apparently by a power of attorney, to Alexander Adams in 1645, and records resulting from this transaction give us useful information in regard to the children of our first John Seabury.

On Page 525 of Suffolk Deeds, Liber III, we find this: Memorandum that Samuells Seabery, sonne of ye late John Seabery of Boston (now living at Duxbury in Plimouth Pattent this 16 of April 1662 Came to me underwritt & desired me to enter his Claime to a Certaine house & parcell of land heretofore belonging to his father John Seabery now belonging to his Brother Jno. Seabery of Barbadoes & himself ye said house and land being in possession of one Nathaniell ffryer & Jno sweete for him who deteines it from them under a pretenc of a purchase from Alexander Adams & he from Jno Milom the land being about halfe an acre more or lesse & bounded wth land formerly Isaac Grosse northwest walter merry on the South East & south west & the bay north east w^{ch} Claime of his ye said Samuells Seaberry in behalf of his brother & self he Resolves in Due Course of lawe to prosecute for ye obtaining thereof. this Donne the day above said, in presenc of Robert marshall & Samuel Sendall.—Edw Rawson Record.

On page 257 of Vol. VII of Suffolk Deeds, we find the following: "Know all Men by these p^rsents that I Samuells Seaberry one of the

Sons of the Late John Seaberry Late of Boston & by Agreement wth my Brothers & Sisters the right heir of the Said John Seaberry as to the ten pounds remayning part of the Estate of the Late Jno. Seaberry as to what was Left in New England for the Sale of the Said John Seaberrys howse in the hands of John Milam & afterwards Secured by Alexander Addams: by Order of the Generall Court October 1651 to be paid to the right heir of the Said John Seaberry on all demands as in ye Sd Order refference thereto being had more amply appears doe acknowLedge to have received of John Sweet of Boston by Order & on accompt of Nathaniell Fryer yt bought the Said house of Said Alexander Addams the Said some of tenn pounds in ready Money and doe therefore heereby absolutely acquit remise release & for Ever discharge the Said Nathaniell Fryer & Alexander Addams their or either of their heirs or Assignes of & conserning all claims titles & demands to the Said ten pounds by or from mee my heirs or Assignes or any other of the heirs of the Late John Seaberry my Late Father whatsoever as Witnes my hand & Seale this 17th Day of November 1664. Samuells Seabury & a seale.

Signed Sealed & delivered
in presence of Us
Thomas Thacher Senior
James Willet"

We gather from these records that John Seabury, a seaman, settled with his family in Boston in 1639; that he had at least two sons, John and Samuel, and daughters, their number and their names unknown; that he had died before 1651; and that in 1662 the son John was living in the Barbadoes and the son Samuel in Duxbury.

From the record of Boston Births, Baptisms, Marriages, and Deaths, 1630-1699, published by the Boston Record Commission in 1883, we learn that Samuel, son of John and Grace Seaberry, was born 10th of the 10th month 1640, and that Samuel, their son, aged about one year and six months, was baptised the 22 day of 3 mo. 1642. "Grace Seaberry, ye wife of one John Seaberry, a planter," had been admitted to the church "the 15 day of ye 3rd month, 1642."

Nor do we know whether the son John and the daughters were older or younger than Samuel. Judging from the prevailing custom of naming the oldest son for the father, it seems not improbable that John was the elder son.

About 1645, John Seabury removed to the Barbadoes with his family, where he died about 1649. His widow, Grace, married March 2, 1650, Anthony Lane of St. Michaels Parish, Barbadoes. By this marriage she had a son, Ralph, and three daughters. Ralph

Lane married in 1674 Rebecca Bushnell. They lived in the Barbadoes. When we get our next glimpse of the family in 1662, Samuel is of age and intent on securing for himself and for his brother and sisters the unpaid balance of £10 coming to them for the Boston house and lot owned by their parents. John is in the Barbadoes, and appears in the record only once again. He lived and died in Barbadoes.

In a "scrap book" of original papers in the Plymouth County Registry of Deeds in Plymouth is found an original paper signed by Samuel Seabery, of Duxbury, requesting that he be appointed as administrator of the estate of his brother John Seabery. This document is dated December 19, 1678. In two places the words "within this colony" have been written in, as additions, though in the same hand, indicating, it seems, that John Seabury did not live in the Plymouth Colony, and had an estate elsewhere to be administered by another person. John Seabury, son of John Seabury, the progenitor, does not elsewhere appear in Massachusetts records.

On the other hand, the son Samuel became one of the prominent citizens of Duxbury.

He was a member of trial juries in 1661, 1662, 1664, and 1674; of a grand jury in 1668; of coroners' juries in 1662, 1664, and 1673; Constable in 1665; Selectman in 1670, 1671, 1673, 1674, 1675, 1677, 1680, and 1681; and a Deputy to the General Court in 1676. He was made a Freeman of the Colony in 1670.

He was twice married, first, to Patience, daughter of William Kemp, at Weymouth, December 9 or 16, 1660. She died October 29, 1676. He married, secondly, April 4, 1677, Martha, daughter of William and Elizabeth (Alden) Peabody. William Peabody was a son of John Peabody, who appeared in Duxbury in 1638, with a wife Isabel. His will was proved June 27, 1666. Elizabeth Alden was the eldest child of John Alden and Priscilla Mullins, and was born about 1673. Martha Peabody was born in Duxbury February 24, 1650. She married, secondly, April 4, 1677, as his second wife, Lieutenant William Fobes. She died in Little Compton, Rhode Island, January 25, 1712, and he died there November 6, 1712.

William Kemp came over on the *James* in June, 1635. He married Elizabeth, a daughter of the Rev. Ralph Partridge, who came over in 1636. William Kemp died before September 23, 1641, the date of the inventory of his estate. His widow, Elizabeth, was appointed administrator, November 2, 1641. She married, secondly, May 11, 1643, the Rev. Thomas Thacher. (See Vol. 35, page 101ff. of the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* for an account of the Kemp-Partridge-Seabury relationships.) The Partridges and the Thachers were among the "best families" in the

Colony, and doubtless this marriage was advantageous to the young Samuel Seabury. July 7, 1674, the Colony gave him a grant of land as son-in-law of William Kemp. He died August 5, 1681.

The will of Samuel Seabury, of Duxbury, is dated September 21, 1680, and was proved October 8, 1681. He mentions his eldest daughter Elizabeth, his second daughter Sarah, to whom he leaves a bequest "if she return into New England," his son Samuel, his daughter Hannah, his second son John, his son Joseph, his daughter Martha, and his wife Martha. He gives to Samuel his house and housing in Duxbury, to his son John land at the North River at a place called the "brick kills," to his son Joseph land which he had of his father William Peabody. He makes his trusty and well-beloved friends William Paybody and Ralph Thatcher of Duxbury overseers and his wife executor of his will.

In a codicil, he speaks of his former wife's gift of a negro to his daughter Elizabeth and confirms the gift. He provides that if a child is born after his death, his son Samuel shall give him a cow at full age. The inventory of the estate is dated October 27, 1681.

Mr. Rodolphus Thacher was appointed Guardian of Hannah and John, children of Samuel Seabury, deceased, July 7, 1682.

From the will, we learn that Samuel Seabury had the following children. The dates of birth are from the Duxbury Vital Records.

- I. Elizabeth, born September 16, 1661.
- II. Sarah, born August 18, 1663.
- III. Samuel, born April 20, 1666, married Mrs. Abigail Allen, Dec. 13, 1688.
- IV. Hannah, born July 7, 1668.
- V. John, born November 7, 1670, died March 18, 1671/2.
- VI. Grace } twins, March 1, 1672/3 { died March 16, 1672/3.
- VII. Patience } { died March 7, 1672/3.
- VIII. John, married Elizabeth Alden Dec. 9, 1697.
- IX. Joseph, born June 8, 1678.
- X. Martha, born September 23, 1679.

We shall speak only of John, spoken of in the will of his father as his second son.

March 26, 1695, he sold land on the North River in Duxbury, originally granted to William Kemp, to John Magoon, Jr., for £136.

October 22, 1695, Samuel Seabury of Duxbury and his wife Abigail sold to his brother, John Seabury, seventy acres of land at the "brick kills."

December 9, 1697, he married Elizabeth, daughter of David

Alden, of Middleborough, and grand-daughter of John and Priscilla. The wife of David Alden was Mary Southworth, daughter of Constant Southworth and of Elizabeth, daughter of William Collier, whom he married November 2, 1637. Constant Southworth was for many years a member of the General Court, an assistant, a Commissioner of the United Colonies of New England, Ensign, Lieutenant, and Commissary General during King Philip's War. He died March 11, 1679. Elizabeth (Alden) Seabury died in Stonington January 4, 1771, aged ninety-four years, and John Seabury died in Hempstead, Long Island, December 17, 1759.

Soon after his marriage John Seabury moved to Stonington, Connecticut, where his son, David, was born January 16, 1699. About 1704 he exchanged his farm in Stonington for one in Groton, where he lived the rest of his life. December 14, 1725, he sold land in Middleborough to Ebenezer Hathaway that had belonged to David Alden, of Duxbury, his wife Elizabeth joining in the sale. By trade he was a cooper. He and his wife were members of the Congregational Church in Groton, of which he was one of the Deacons. In 1718 he represented Groton in the Connecticut General Court.

John and Elizabeth (Alden) Seabury had the following children:

- I. David, born January 16, 1698/9.
- II. John, born, Nov. 25, 1700, died November 25, 1700.
- III. Patience, born May 5, 1702, m. Joseph Latham, November 28, 1722.
- IV. John, born May 22, 1704, m. Esther, dau. of James Rogers.
- V. Samuel, born July 8, 1706.
- VI. Mary, born November 11, 1708, m. Jonathan Starr, Jr., October 10, 1728.
- VII. Sarah, born March 16, 1710/11.
- VIII. Nathaniel, born July 31, 1720.

We can here concern ourselves only with the son Samuel, father of Bishop Seabury. He was born in Groton, July 8, 1706. It has been said that he was a student at Yale at the time when Rector Cutler, the Rev. Samuel Johnson, and others of the faculty became Episcopalians, but there is nothing in the records of either Yale or Harvard to support this tradition, though there is nothing intrinsically improbable in it. We do know, however, that he was graduated from Harvard in 1724.

He became in 1726 a licensed preacher in the "Second Ecclesiastical Society" in Groton, it being in the part of the town called North Groton. It does not appear, however, that he was ordained to the Congregational Ministry.

About 1727, he married Abigail, born September 3, 1710, daughter of Thomas Mumford, of North Groton. Thomas Mumford was born April 1, 1687, and married June 3, 1705, Hannah Remington, born in 1687, and died March 6, 1781. She was a daughter of John Remington and Abigail Richmond, and a grand-daughter of John Remington of Jamestown, Rhode Island. She was born September 3, 1710.

Thomas Mumford was an Episcopalian, active in the Narragansett Church, and one of the first Wardens of St. James Church, New London, Connecticut. Dr. James MacSparran, Rector of the Narragansett Church, had married Hannah Gardiner, a daughter of William Gardiner and Abigail Remington, and so was a nephew by marriage of Thomas Mumford. The Mumfords and the Gardiners were wealthy and influential families, and were all active in the Church of England. His associations with the members of his wife's family circle are quite sufficient to account for his becoming interested in the claims of the Episcopal Church. So we need not be surprised to find him abandoning the Congregational Church and setting out to obtain Episcopal ordination in England.

He was ordained in London by the Rt. Rev. Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London in 1730, and returning to America, was made Missionary at New London. He was the first Rector of St. James Church, New London, of which his father-in-law, Thomas Mumford, was the first Warden. In 1742, he was transferred to St. George's Church, Hempstead, Long Island, which he served till his death June 15, 1764. He had a school, and also practiced medicine (from 1753 to 1759), as did his son the Bishop for some years (1750-1753).

His first wife Abigail Mumford died in 1731. He married, secondly, May 27, 1733, the Rev. James MacSparran officiating, Elizabeth, daughter of Adam Powell, of Newport, whose wife, married May 30, 1713, was Esther, daughter of Gabriel Bernon, a founder of Trinity Church, Newport. She died February 6, 1799.

The children of the Rev. Samuel Seabury, mentioned in his will, were:

(By the first wife):

- I. Caleb, born February 27, 1728.
- II. Samuel, born November 30, 1729.

(By the second wife):

- III. Adam.
- IV. Elizabeth.
- V. Abigail.
- VI. Nathaniel.
- VII. David.

Samuel Seabury, future Bishop of Connecticut and Rhode Island, was born in Groton, Connecticut, November 30, 1729. He was baptised December 14, 1729, by the Rev. John Owen, Pastor of the Congregational Church in Groton. He was prepared for college by his father, and was graduated from Yale in 1748, at the age of nineteen. He planned to enter the ministry of the Church of England; but being too young for ordination, he was employed by the S. P. G. as a Catechist, with a salary of £10, at Huntington on Long Island, carrying on his theological studies under the direction of his father. In August, 1752, he went to England and studied medicine for a year at the University of Edinburgh. December 21, 1753, he was ordained Deacon and December 23, 1753, Priest. He was assigned to Christ Church, New Brunswick, New Jersey, by the S. P. G., and began his work there May 25, 1754.

Since his ministry both as Priest and Bishop are adequately dealt with by other hands in this number of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, it will be unnecessary to dwell on that aspect of his life here.

October 12, 1756, his father officiating, he married Mary, daughter of Edward Hicks, a merchant of Philadelphia, who was at the time of the marriage living in retirement on Staten Island. The mother of Mrs. Seabury was Violetta Ricketts, a daughter of William Ricketts and Mary Walton. The wife of the Bishop died October 12, 1780. After his consecration, he served as Rector of his father's old Church, St. James's, New London, at the same time carrying on his duties as Bishop. He died February 25, 1796, and was buried February 28, 1796.

Bishop Seabury had the following children:

- I. Violetta Ricketts, born October 9, 1758, married Charles Nicol Taylor, a Royalist, of whom there are living descendants. He died in September, 1792, in Norfolk, Virginia.
- II. Abigail Mumford, born February 12, 1760, married Colin Campbell.
- III. Mary, or Maria, born July 20, 1761, unmarried.
- IV. Samuel, born October 29, 1765. He married Frances Taber, but died young leaving no children. He was a physician.
- V. Edward, born October 5, 1767, married Lucretia Otis, but had no children.
- VI. Charles, born May 29, 1770.

The only son of the Bishop to leave descendants bearing the Seabury name was the youngest son Charles, born in Westchester, N. Y., May 29, 1770. June 13, 1799, he married Ann, daughter of

Rosewell Saltonstall, of New London. Rosewell Saltonstall was born August 29, 1741, and married March 4, 1766, Elizabeth Stewart, daughter of Matthew Stewart, of New London. He died January 12, 1804, and she in 1817. He is buried in Trinity Churchyard, New York.

Rosewell Saltonstall was a son of Gurdon Saltonstall by his second wife Elizabeth Rosewell. He was born December 22, 1708, in New London. He was graduated from Yale in the class of 1725. He was appointed a Colonel of the Connecticut militia in 1739, and served in the siege of Louisburg and in the Crown Point expedition. He was a Deputy from New London to the Connecticut General Court at eleven sessions between 1744 and 1748 and at six sessions between 1754 and 1757; in the intervening years he was an Assistant. From 1751 to his death, he was Judge of Probate for the New London District. In September, 1776, he was appointed Brigadier of the State Militia, and rendered valuable service. He died in Norwich September 19, 1785. He married March 15, 1732/33, Rebecca, daughter of John Winthrop of New London, and grand-daughter of Waitstill Winthrop. Rebecca Winthrop was baptised January 11, 1712/13, and died October 30, 1776. John Winthrop, father of Rebecca, married Ann, daughter of Governor Joseph Dudley and grand-daughter of Governor Thomas Dudley. Waitstill Winthrop was a son of John Winthrop, the younger, Governor of Connecticut, and a grandson of Governor John Winthrop of Massachusetts.

Gurdon Saltonstall, father of Gurdon and grandfather of Rosewell, was born in Haverhill, Massachusetts, March 27, 1666, and died in New London, Connecticut, September 20, 1724. He was graduated from Harvard in the class of 1684. He was Minister of the Congregational Church in New London, and was elected Governor in 1708, serving till his death. He married as his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of William Rosewell, of Branford, whose wife was Catherine, daughter of Richard Russell, of Charlestown, Massachusetts. She died at New London, September 12, 1710.

Governor Gurdon Saltonstall was a son of Nathaniel Saltonstall of Haverhill, Massachusetts, a graduate of Harvard in the class of 1659. He was a member of the Governor's Council in Massachusetts from 1679 to 1686. Nathaniel Saltonstall was a son of Richard, matriculated at Emanuel College, Cambridge, and came over with his father, Sir Richard Saltonstall, in 1630.

To return to the Seaburys—Charles Seabury was ordained Deacon by his father June 5, 1793, and Priest July 17, 1796, by Bishop Samuel Provoost, of New York.

After serving for a short time at Jamaica, Long Island, on the

death of his father, he was called to the Rectorate of St. James Church, New London. After serving there eighteen years, he became Rector of Caroline Church, Setauket, Long Island. He married, secondly, in 1821, the widow of the Rev. Henry Moscrop. Here he served till his death December 29, 1844.

Children:

- I. Samuel, born June 9, 1801.
- II. Charles Saltonstall, born December 10, 1802.
- III. William, born March 31, 1805, died February 20, 1833, unmarried.
- IV. Edward, born May 14, 1807, died unmarried.
- V. Richard Francis, born July 21, 1809, married June 18, 1836, Catherine Eliza Russell.

Charles Saltonstall Seabury lived on Long Island and left four sons, of whom two, Thomas and Samuel, left male issue.

Richard Francis, the youngest son, settled in Illinois, and left three sons, Charles, Richard, and Samuel.

Samuel Seabury, eldest son of the Rev. Charles and Ann (Saltonstall) Seabury, was born in New London, Connecticut, June 9, 1801. He grew up at Jamaica, and was for a time employed by his uncle Edward Seabury in New York. He was ordained Deacon by Bishop John Henry Hobart April 12, 1826, in All Saints' Church, New York, and was ordained Priest by Bishop Hobart July 7, 1828, in St. George's Church, Astoria, N. Y. He served churches in Jamaica and Huntington, later becoming Rector of St. George's Church, Astoria. He taught Classics for a number of years in the Flushing Institute. In 1833, he became Editor of *The Churchman*, and served for eighteen years in that capacity with conspicuous ability and success. He became Rector of the Church of the Annunciation in New York, serving from 1838 to 1868. He was Professor of Biblical Learning and the Interpretation of Scripture in the General Theological Seminary from 1862 to his death. He received, *honoris causa* from Columbia University, the M. A. degree in 1823 and the D. D. degree in 1837. He was a member of the Standing Committee of the Diocese of New York from 1848 to 1853. He died October 10, 1872, at the General Seminary in New York.

Among his writings may be mentioned "An Historical Sketch of Augustine, Bishop of Hippo" (1833), "The Continuity of the Church of England in the Sixteenth Century" (1853), and "The Supremacy and Obligation of Conscience" (1860).

He was thrice married, first, May 17, 1829, to Lydia Huntington Bill, who died April 16, 1834; secondly, November 17, 1835, to Hannah

Amelia Jones, who died September 18, 1852; and thirdly, to Mary Anna, daughter of Samuel Jones and Catherine Schuyler, who survived him.

Children:

- I. Anna, born April 14, 1830, married May 13, 1852, the Rev. William Waldon, D. D., who died May 15, 1853.
- II. Lydia, born November 28, 1833, married April 18, 1855, Samuel P. Bell.
- III. William Jones, born January 25, 1837.
- IV. Kezia, born December 30, 1842, married April 22, 1862, James Weeks.
- V. Mary, born January 1, 1845, married the Rev. H. A. Parker.
- VI. Ella Amelia, born August 3, 1847, married the Rev. Charles W. Ward.

William Jones Seabury, son of the Rev. Samuel and Hannah Amelia (Jones) Seabury, was born in New York January 25, 1837. He was graduated from Columbia in 1856, and received the M. A. degree from that institution in 1859. In 1874 he received the D. D. degree from Hobart College. He was admitted to the New York Bar in 1858, but decided to enter the ministry of the Episcopal Church. He was graduated from the General Seminary in 1866. He was Rector of the Church of the Annunciation, New York, from 1868 to 1898. In 1873, he became Professor of Ecclesiastical Polity and Law in the General Seminary, serving till his death August 30, 1916.

Among his writings may be mentioned "Lectures on Apostolic Succession," 1893; "An Introduction to the Study of Ecclesiastical Polity," 1894; and "A Memoir of Bishop Seabury," 1908.

October 29, 1868, he married Alice Van Wyck, daughter of Thomas Marston and Mary Susan (Saltonstall) Beare.

Professor William Jones Seabury left two sons, both now eminent in legal and political affairs in the City of New York, Samuel and William Marston Seabury, and three daughters, Susan Saltonstall, Lydia, and Muriel Gurdon.

The elder, Judge Samuel Seabury, was Judge of the Supreme Court of New York from 1907 to 1914, when he became an Associate Judge of the Court of Appeals, resigning in 1916 to resume private practice. In 1916, he was the Democratic candidate for the Governorship of the State of New York. June 6, 1900, he married Miss Josephine Maud Richey, daughter of the Rev. Thomas and Emma (Bacot) Richey, D. D., who was for many years a professor in the General Theological Seminary in New York City.

The younger, William Marston Seabury, was born in New York, March 18, 1878. He was graduated from the New York Law School in 1898. He married Katharine Emerson Hovey, November 10, 1900. There are three children: Lisperard, married Edward Savage Crocker, 2nd; Etheldreda Winthrop, married Fergus Reid, Jr.; and Muriel Gurdon, married William White Howells.

He was admitted to the New York Bar in 1899, and practised in New York till 1910, when he was obliged to go to Phoenix, Arizona, for his health. In 1915, he returned to New York and resumed practice there.

So we see that for three hundred years, nine generations, the Seabury family has played its part in our history, made its contributions to our religious and political history, and that in this, our day, illustrious members of the family are carrying on the family tradition of high and fearless service to Church and State.

SAMUEL SEABURY, PRESBYTER

By Charles Mampoteng

NURTURED in the traditions of the Church of England, although baptized in the Congregational faith, Samuel Seabury, Jr., determined to pursue a career in the Church to which his father had been converted. At the time of Samuel's birth, on S. Andrew's Day, November 30th, 1729, his father, the Rev. Samuel Seabury, was a licensed preacher to the Second Ecclesiastical Society in North Groton, Connecticut, hence the baby's baptism on December 14th by the Rev. John Owen of Groton. His conversion to Anglicanism led to his obtaining Holy Orders in 1731, and on May 19th, 1732, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts commissioned him its missionary at New London at £60, retroactive to the Feast of S. John the Baptist 1730. Having demonstrated his abilities in New London, the elder Seabury was in 1742 transferred to the mission at Hempstead, Long Island. The early education of young Samuel was supervised by his parent, and by 1744 he was ready to enter Yale College, emerging four years later a Bachelor of Arts. A Master's degree was awarded in 1761 by King's College in New York, with Yale following suit. Seabury was, however, too young to obtain Holy Orders upon graduation from college, and the expense of two trips abroad was prohibitive, hence the proposal made by his father in a letter to the Secretary of the S. P. G. dated September 30th, 1748, that

"My son is not yet nineteen years of age, and as I believe he may be employed at Huntington in reading prayers and sermons, and in catechising to good purpose, before he will be of age for Holy Orders, I presume to hope the Society will employ him at Huntington with some small allowance."

In accord with this suggestion, Samuel was appointed catechist, with a salary of £10, to the town of Huntington, some eighteen miles distant from Hempstead. While pursuing his ecclesiastical duties, Samuel also spent considerable time studying theology and medicine*

*Onderdonk, "Annals of Hempstead," item of April 18th, 1753: "Rev. Samuel Seabury began his school. He as well as his son practiced medicine also."

under his father's guidance, the latter believing that some medical training was necessary for a good missionary. Arrangements having been made with the Bishop of London, Samuel gave up his position as catechist in July, 1752, and sailed the following month to study physics and anatomy at the University of Edinburgh for a year's time. Subsequently he came to London, and on December 21st, 1753, was ordained a Deacon by John, Bishop of Lincoln, and two days later was ordained a Priest by Richard, Bishop of Carlisle, both bishops acting for the aged and infirm Bishop of London. On the recommendation of the Rev. James Wetmore, missionary at Rye, New York, the Society assigned Seabury to Christ Church New Brunswick, in New Jersey, to which province he was licensed by the Bishop of London.

Arriving at his post on May 25th the following year, Seabury found a partly completed stone church building, designed to accommodate six hundred people, with the congregation falling far short of that number, and only fifteen communicants. His first report to the Society, dated October 10th, 1754, mentioned the warm welcome he had received, and as no dissenting teacher of any denomination was then on the spot, Seabury was hopeful of converting a number of these people. For further instruction in the faith, Seabury asked for a folio Bible and Common Prayer Book, together with a library for the parish, a request which was granted, and a parochial library worth £10, sent for the use of the missionary. After a year's interval, Seabury reported on October 9th that his congregation was slowly growing, and during the summer he had constantly attended at South River, varying his ministrations by several journeys into neighboring localities, particularly Cranbury and Reading-Town, the latter place being some twenty-five miles distant from his mission. At South River, the building of a church was temporarily halted by the French and Indian War, but in 1756 the wooden frame was erected.

Seabury's stay in New Brunswick was enlivened by his efforts to confute certain essays published in a New York periodical

"tending to corrupt the principles of the people with regard to Government and to weaken their attachment to the Constitution of this country both in Church and State."*

A series of communications appeared in the New York Mercury from November 25th, 1754, to November 17th, 1755, under the title of "Watch-Tower" in a controversy over the establishing of King's

**Seabury Memorial, Oct. 20th, 1783 (Public Record Office, Audit Office 13/67—transcript in the New York Public Library).*

College in New York. That a provincial college, to be supplied by public funds, should be dominated by Anglicans, was deeply resented by Presbyterians, and the writings often took on a sharp edge, though many amusing bits were included. Replies to practically every "Watch-Tower" article were written by Churchmen, and Seabury's pen was actively engaged against a "most renowned Club of Scribblers" led by William Livingston.

During the autumn of 1756, Seabury spent much time at Jamaica, prior to his induction to the parish, visiting New Brunswick to perform divine services. These journies were made via Staten Island, and so he met the daughter of Edward Hicks, a retired merchant living in the locality. Despite opposition, Samuel Seabury and Mary Hicks were married on October 12th, 1756, in New York by the groom's father. One of the reasons for Hicks' opposition lay in financial obligations he was under to his daughter, and there ensued a long controversy between Seabury and Hicks over payment of a legacy due the young lady. A short two months following his marriage, Seabury terminated his connection with the church in New Brunswick.

An old law passed by the Province of New York, permitting a vestry of local freeholders to call a rector, with the avowed design of filling up parishes with dissenting teachers, was nullified by the practice of Royal Governors demanding that candidates produce certificates from the Bishop of London. The death of the incumbent at Grace Church in Jamaica, Long Island, in December, 1755, gave the legal "mixed" vestry occasion to choose a Presbyterian, one Simon Horton, as minister. Obviously the Bishop's certificate was not forthcoming, and the Governor refused to countenance the choice. Having waited more than six months for another applicant, Sir Charles Handy on January 12th, 1757, by mandate, "collated, instituted and established" Seabury as minister of Grace Church at Jamaica, in Queens County on Long Island. The following day, the Rev. Henry Barclay of Trinity Church New York, inducted him, and on January 23rd, Seabury formally "read in," assenting to the Articles of Religion, the use of the Prayer Book, etc. Most upsetting to Seabury was the "present languid sense of religion" in his new mission, and especially was he concerned with the situation in Flushing, "the seat of Infidelity," where Quakerism was strong.* Com-

**Seabury to S. P. G., Oct. 10th, 1759 (Hawks Transcripts in New York Historical Society).* Concerning the Quakers in his parish, Seabury wrote (to S. P. G. March 26th, 1764, Hawks) that "They trusting only to their light within and neglecting to give their children any religious Education, expose them unguarded to the Allurements of Vice & sensual pleasure & they of course embrace the Principles that lay them under the least restraint; hence it comes to pass that in those villages where the Quakers were formerly most numerous, there is now the least appearance of any Religion at all."

municants were few, but in his report on October 6th, 1760, he was able to note an improvement at Flushing and Newtown.

Seabury apparently never was able to fit harmoniously into affairs in his Jamaica Mission, and the venerable Rev. Dr. Samuel Johnson, of Stratford, Connecticut, and King's College, New York, as the highly respected correspondent of the S. P. G., tried to remedy the situation. Finding that the people in Westchester County approved of Seabury, he urged the appointment in 1761, but the Society saw fit to assign the Rev. John Milner to the post.* Disappointed in that attempt, Johnson, remembering the post at New Haven, thought

"Young Seabury would do very well for N. H. but they cannot make it worth his while."†

The intrusion of the Rev. Daniel Treadwell into Seabury's mission, and the resultant controversy with John Aspinwall, a prominent layman at Flushing, did not make for parochial harmony. Treadwell, licensed in 1762 to Trenton, New Jersey, visited Newtown and Flushing in 1763 and officiated in the churches without informing Seabury. His just indignation brought Seabury into conflict with Aspinwall, "of low birth and strong passions,"‡ and when Aspinwall abused Seabury in New York, the latter began a series of public demands for satisfaction, notices running in the New York Gazette from September 20th to October 25th, 1764. In the midst of these bickerings, the famous George Whitefield visited New York, preaching to great audiences and causing conservative clerical hearts to flutter. Seabury valiantly and successfully attempted to hold the loyalty of his flock, writing to the S. P. G. on October 6th, 1764, of Whitefield:

"I am sorry to say he has done a great deal of mischief; his tenets and method of preaching have been adopted by many of the dissenting teachers, and this town in particular, has a continual, I had almost said a daily, succession of strolling preachers and exhorters; and the poor Church of England is on every occasion misrepresented as popish, and as teaching her members to expect salvation on account of their own works and deservings."

The constant loss of life among candidates for Holy Orders who

*S. P. G. *Abstract of Proceedings* 1761.

†Johnson to William S. Johnson Jan. 3rd, 1763 (Johnson MSS. Columbia University).

‡Seabury to S. P. G., March 26th, 1763 (Hawks). Writing that Treadwell ought to have called on him first, Seabury noted his willingness to give up Flushing and Newtown to Treadwell, but his need for the money as well as lack of authority, made him refuse to give in to Aspinwall.

were obliged to go abroad for ordination troubled all Churchmen, and the periodic demands for an American Episcopate were renewed in 1766, when two more missionaries were lost. Not only was it becoming increasingly necessary for a Bishop to ordain in America, but as Seabury wrote on April 17th, 1766, a Bishop was wanted to keep the Church pure in faith and combat the skepticism and violent sectarianism threatening to undo all efforts of the Anglican missionaries. The clergy of the province of New York, together with several others, met in voluntary convention on May 21st, 1766, at Dr. Auchmuty's house in New York, to serve the interests of the Church and use

"their joint Influence and Endeavours to obtain the Happiness of Bishops, to support the Church against the unreasonable Opposition given to it in the Colonies, and cultivate and improve a good Understanding and Union with each other."*

The group chose Seabury as secretary, a position he held till May 21st, 1767, when at the convention's request he wrote to the Society of the great need for more missionaries. An outgrowth of the group's episcopal propaganda was the "American Whig" controversy waged in the *New York Gazette*. The convention had been accused of sending some seven petitions to important English personages, reflecting upon Dissenters as "seditious incendiaries and disaffected to King and Government." Such reflections were publicly denied by Seabury in the March 28th, 1768, number of the paper. This statement precipitated an extended newspaper battle with the literary opposition led by Dr. Charles Chauncey of Boston, who had a letter published, signed "B. W.," purporting to be by a member of the S. P. G. in Boston attacking Seabury. A denial of authorship was received from former Governor Benning Wentworth, and Seabury proceeded to show in the December 19th and 26th numbers that Chauncey had used the initials. An agreement was made between the Rev. Messrs. Seabury, Chandler, Cooper and Inglis to

"watch all publications either in newspapers or pamphlets & to obviate the evil influence of such as appeared to have a bad tendency by the speediest answers."

These gentlemen bore the brunt of the controversy with the "American Whig," writing as "A Whip for the American Whig," with a retaliatory piece being written as "A Kick for the Whipper."

The death of his father on June 15th, 1764, from a nervous dis-

**Minutes of the Convention*—those present were the Rev. Drs. Auchmuty, Chandler and Johnson, the Rev. Messrs. Avery, Charlton, Cooke, Cooper, Cutting, Inglis, Jarvis, McKean, Munro, Ogilvie and Seabury.

order broke a strong tie binding Seabury to Long Island, and so when the wardens and vestry of S. Peter's Church in Westchester County, through the efforts of the Rev. Dr. Myles Cooper of King's College, invited him to become their rector, he requested the Society to transfer him there. By a mandate dated December 3rd, 1766, Sir Henry Moore, Governor of New York, "collated, instituted and established" Seabury as rector of the parish church at Westchester, with charge over Eastchester, Yonkers and the Manor of Pelham, and Dr. Cooper formally inducted him on March 1st, 1767. Soon after taking charge, Seabury made a report on his new mission, where he found attendance unsteady, there being usually two hundred in the Westchester congregation with but twenty-two communicants, while at Eastchester a somewhat larger attendance was noted. Both localities boasted only small wooden churches, but in the latter place a large stone building was being erected.

At Westchester he was bothered with a considerable Quaker group, and the lower classes seemed to have no religion at all, hence the catechising on Sunday afternoons, with sermons preached at funerals in rural sections, in order to bring instructions to the isolated farmers. In recounting the financial aspect of the mission, Seabury noted that his salary was £50 currency by virtue of an Act of Assembly, and that there were no burial fees, though sometimes a linen scarf was given for services. As to marriages, the fee was from one to four Spanish dollars, though very many couples

"go to an Independent teacher in the parish of Rye, because his ceremony is short, and they have nothing to say."*

Sometime during his ministry at Westchester, Seabury wrote a discourse of some seventy-eight pages, the first eight of which are missing, which for want of a better title, has been dubbed "Bishop Seabury's Anti-Calvinism."† With little sympathy for the predestination theory, Seabury wrote:

"I have ever thought it a vain attempt, to endeavour to convince a rigid Predestinarian. A person must have a very bad heart or a very weak head, to fall into so monstrous a belief. . . . Had it not been for Predestination; the notion of an imaginary, imputative righteousness; of an empty, dead faith; of the irresistibility of Divine grace; and the slavish opinion of the invincibleness of sin; I cannot see

*Seabury to S. P. G. June 25th, 1767 (Hawks).

†Manuscript published in *American Church Monthly*, May and June, 1858, pp. 321-33, 401-14; the manuscript, a bit the worse for wear, with eight pages missing was handed down from the Rev. Dr. Isaac Wilkins, conservative member of the Provincial Assembly and later rector at Westchester, who noted that it was a Seabury Ms.

but that the members of the better-reformed Protestant Churches would in general have proved excellent Christians; and would have abounded in all the works of righteousness, unto the praise and glory of God. Whereas I question whether they at present exceed the Romans the least tittle in real virtue and goodness, notwithstanding all our boasts of reformation and a more pure religion."

Writing to the Society on October 8th and November 8th, 1766, Sir William Johnson proposed the establishment of a new mission at Johnson Hall, to care for the Mohawk Indians, as well as the Germans and Englishmen settled in the vicinity. Offering to pay most of the salary in addition to providing a house and glebe, Johnson was seeking an exemplary missionary, affable, zealous and with a moderate family. The Society determined to seek out such a man, and Dr. Cooper urged Seabury to consider it, and during the summer of 1769 he took the two-hundred-mile journey up to Johnstown. Unable to see Johnson, who was away, and believing the salary inadequate, the journey too long, and the moving expenses too high, Seabury declined the post. In his own mission the rumblings of "violent party heats" claimed his attention, as he strove to set forth the teachings of the Church in contrast to the licentiousness of those who treated religion

"as a thing unworthy of their attention, except on some particular occasions, when they are otherwise disengaged."

The quiet routine of parochial ministrations was soon shattered by the series of events that led to widespread colonial defiance of Parliamentary authority, and as a faithful servant of the Crown, Seabury undertook to instruct his people in loyalty. The conservative New York Assembly refused to consider the acts of the First Continental Congress, and shortly after its adjournment a pamphlet was published by "A Farmer," addressed to New York farmers, dated November 16th, 1774, entitled,

"Free Thoughts on the Proceedings of the Continental Congress Held at Philadelphia Sept. 5th, 1774: Wherein their Errors are exhibited, their Reasonings confuted, and the fatal Tendency of their Non-Importation, Non-Exportation and Non-Consumption Measures are laid open to the plainest Understanding, etc."

This pamphlet, the first of four written by Seabury,* attempted to show farmers and landowners the effect of the aforementioned measures on them. The bluntness and logic of the arguments expressed with

*The four "A. W. F." pamphlets edited by C. H. Vance were published in the *Publications of the Westchester County Historical Society* (v. 8) 1930.

homely practical illustrations were in keeping with the character Seabury advanced, that of an intelligent farmer, rather than the refined language of a discreet clergymen. On November 28th another piece was addressed to the merchants of New York, under the title of

"Congress Canvassed, or an Examination into the Conduct of the Delegates at their Grand Convention held in Philadelphia Sept. 1st, 1774."

A reply to the first pamphlet had been written by a young collegian, Alexander Hamilton, dated December 15th, as a "Full Vindication of the Measures of the Continental Congress," was a general refutation of the "Farmer's" arguments.

Having seen Hamilton's reply, Seabury inserted a postscript to the advertisement of his own pamphlet in the *New York Gazeteer*, which was answered by "A Card" on December 22nd, with a "Card in Reply" by Drs. Inglis and Cooper the following week. In the role of an enraged farmer, Seabury next wrote a pamphlet dated December 24th in reply to Hamilton, entitled,

"A View of the Controversy between Great Britain and her Colonies including A Mode of Determining their present Disputes, etc."

This pamphlet was received with such bitterness by the Sons of Liberty that it was publicly burnt, according to Rivington's note of January 12th, 1775. In some parts of Connecticut it was tarred, feathered and nailed to the whipping post. After a short interval there appeared an "Alarm to the Legislature of the Province of New York," in which Seabury averred that acceptance of Congressional proceedings would be tantamount to setting up a new sovereign power and inciting to rebellion and civil war. A reply to Hamilton's masterly "Farmer Refuted" was advertised to appear on April 27th, entitled,

"The Republican Dissected, or the Anatomy of an American Whig, in answer to the Farmer Refuted."

News of the events at Lexington halted plans for the publication of this last of Seabury's political productions, and it never appeared in print.

On April 11th, 1775, the freeholders and inhabitants of Westchester met at White Plains to decide upon choosing a committee to meet other committees in New York City, so that delegates to the next Continental Congress from New York might be chosen. The

friends of "law and order" met at the house of Captain Abraham Hatfield prior to joining the Whig group at the Court House. Refusing to cast any ballots at an unlawful meeting, the Tory group contented itself with denouncing the proceedings and drafting a protest, and then returned to Hatfield's singing "God save great George our King." The formal declaration, printed in the *Gazeteer* on April 20th, was signed by more than three hundred loyalists headed by Colonel Frederick Phillips, Isaac Wilkins, the Rev. Samuel Seabury, the Rev. Luke Babcock and Judge Jonathan Fowler, and read:

"We the subscribers, freeholders and inhabitants of the County of Westchester, having assembled at the White Plains in consequence of certain advertisements, do now declare that we met here to declare our honest abhorrence of all unlawful Congresses and Committees, and that we are determined, at the hazard of our lives and properties, to support the King and Constitution; and that we acknowledge no Representatives but the General Assembly, to whose wisdom and integrity we submit the guardianship of our rights, liberties and privileges."

The militia stationed at Rye, encouraged by the Lexington skirmish, set out to arrest loyalist sympathizers, particularly Seabury and Isaac Wilkins, member of the Provincial Assembly, but a warning was given by friends, and both gentlemen managed to escape. Wilkins fled the country on May 3rd, while Seabury, Dr. Myles Cooper and Dr. Thomas B. Chandler hid in the Wilkins mansion at Castle Hill Neck till it became safe to appear. The two latter embarked for London, but Seabury continued about his mission. In fact, he had personal interviews with about a third of the Assembly members prior to their meeting, at which the Assembly refused to choose delegates to the second Congress.

In an effort to cripple the avowedly loyalist press of James Rivington in New York City, a large group of armed horsemen descended upon that establishment led by Captain Isaac Sears, broke in, demolished the press and carried off the types. A smaller group under Captain Lothrop riding through Westchester, seized the Rev. Mr. Seabury on November 22nd, 1775, at his grammar school,* had his horse saddled, and set off with him towards Kingsbridge. Joining the Sears party, Seabury's captors rode on to Eastchester, seized Mayor Nathaniel Underhill and Judge Jonathan Fowler, proceeding to Greenwich. The three prisoners arrived in New Haven on Novem-

**Seabury Memorial to Loyalist Comm. Oct. 20th, 1783 (AO 13/67).* In order to satisfy certain debts, Seabury opened a school in 1774 and made it profitable, estimating its value as £150 York currency. The raiders had first visited his home and abused his family, his daughter's cap and neckerchief being pierced by a bayonet.

ber 27th, were paraded in triumph and confined, with Seabury being forbidden use of pen, ink and paper except for writing to his family, forbidden to visit friends or perform any divine service in the church, although invited by the Rev. Bela Hubbard, the local incumbent. Some time later Seabury was examined on four charges laid against him, namely, that he had with several others plotted to seize Sears while he was traveling through Westchester and have him confined on a warship; that he signed the White Plains Protest; that he neglected to open his church on a Continental Fast Day; that he wrote pamphlets against the liberties of Americans. The Provincial Congress in New York drafted a letter dated December 12th to Governor Trumbull of Connecticut, sharply rebuking the unauthorized ardor of the Sears raiding party, and regarding Seabury, "we must entreat your friendly interposition for his immediate discharge." Seabury himself penned a long memorial to the General Assembly and Governor of Connecticut on December 20th, setting forth the facts in his case and questioning the propriety of being judged by the laws of a colony to which he owed no obedience. Released on December 23rd, Seabury managed to get back to Westchester on January 2nd, 1776, and determined

"to stay as long as I am permitted to discharge the duties of my mission whatever personal inconvenience it may subject me to."*

The underlying reason for these hostile demonstrations was the belief that Seabury was responsible for the "*A Westchester Farmer*" pamphlets, and his denials made in the interests of his own safety† were later used against him, others claiming the credit. Though Seabury expressly notes his authorship in his memorial, corroborative certificates by Drs. Cooper and Chandler‡ were necessary. Popular opinion in the matter was voiced by a writer in the *New York Gazeteer* who attributed the pamphlets to Seabury and proceeded to say that he

"did, in the day of British power and insolence, often boast of that performance as a very meritorious one and as a feather in his cap which justly entitled him to the sinicure which he enjoyed at Richmond."

Following his return home, Seabury passed some time in comparative safety, until the British evacuated Boston in March. This gave

*Seabury to S. P. G. Jan. 13th, 1776 (Hawks).

†Seabury to S. P. G. Dec. 29th, 1776 (Hawks).

‡A letter written by the Rev. Jeremiah Leaming (June 19th, 1787, Jarvis Ms) relates that someone else claimed credit for the pamphlets, while the Rev. Jonathan Boucher accused Dr. Cooper of claiming authorship, when actually Cooper was Seabury's friend.

American forces en route to New York an opportunity to tarry at his house, eat and drink his supplies, and then abuse him, asking for the "Farmer." Often afraid to go to bed, staying in his room with door locked, or secretly flitting about to neighbors, Seabury survived, gaining some rest after a month's hazardous existence. Then the Declaration of Independence was signed and the New York Assembly had to fall in line, passing a decree forbidding contributions to the support and comfort of the King's forces under penalty of death. Some fifty armed men were sent into the neighborhood, and Seabury was convinced the best plan was to stop all church worship until such time that he might use the full, prescribed liturgy, and pray for the King.

With the arrival of the British forces on Staten Island, the Americans grew more alert, apprehending loyalists and guarding the coast, breastworks being thrown up only two miles from Seabury's house. Keeping out of sight as much as possible, Seabury was heartened by the British victory at Brooklyn on August 27th, 1776, and on September 1st he took refuge within the British lines on Long Island.* He was able to provide the army with intelligence and guides for a drive through Westchester. During the eight weeks he was away, some twenty American dragoons were quartered in his house in Westchester, the hay and corn on his glebe was destroyed, twelve cattle and six swine being driven off, a total loss of some £50. In November the British withdrew, and Seabury moved his family to New York, being forced to live on credit, his medical knowledge and a contribution from the fund raised for the suffering clergy in America.† Sir William Howe took pity on him, and in June, 1777, appointed him chaplain to the Provincial Hospital in New York, and on February 14th, 1778, he was commissioned by Sir Henry Clinton the chaplain to the King's American Regiment, commanded by Colonel Edmund Fanning. Both these commissions held good till June 7th, 1783, when Seabury left New York. Seabury conscientiously exercised his ministry while in New York, and a number of his sermons of the period were printed. On May 11th, 1777, he preached a discourse on II Timothy iii. 16, in S. Paul's and S. George's Chapels‡ and on the Feast of S. John the Baptist, he preached at S. Paul's Chapel before

**Memorial (AO 13/67). Resolution of N. Y. Comm. of Safety Sept. 11th, 1776, that "Colo. Joseph Drake be directed forthwith to remove the said Samuel Seabury from Westchester to the house of Colo. John Brinckerhoff, at this place."*

†*Letter of Dr. T. B. Chandler to Seabury April 8th, 1776, told of Chandler's procuring a ship chaplaincy for Seabury; further that the public subscription plan was really his, the total of £4,000 being raised, Chandler arranging a grant of £50 to Seabury with hopes of another £50 being added later.*

‡*As some criticism had been made of the sermon (copy in General Theol. Seminary) by those who heard it preached, Seabury had it printed, inserting an explanatory note in the New York Gazette July 7th, 1777:*

the Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons of Zion Lodge, a discourse on Brotherly Love,* asserting that

"We in particular who are assembled here this day, know that no government can bind, no laws can hold, and no principles can restrain men who, having suppressed the humane tempers and emotions of the heart, have given themselves up to the influence of the selfish, malignant and vindictive passions, the indulgence of which is both a disgrace to our nature, and a curse to our species."

The preacher on Sunday, September 28th, 1777, in the encampment at Kingsbridge was Chaplain Seabury, who took as his text S. Peter's exhortation (I Peter ii. 17) to "fear God and honour the King."

Daily meetings with parishioners become refugees deprived of even the common necessities of life, depressed Seabury, and in his letter to the Society of March 29th, 1777, he described the harsh treatment accorded them, but "to pity and pray for them is all I can do." In October, curious to see how matters stood in Westchester, and perhaps hoping to collect a year's arrears in salary from his parish, Seabury visited his mission but found it too dangerous to stay. As a result he requested the Society on November 12th to permit his removal to Staten Island, a plea quickly granted, his salary of £50 to be continued. The Rev. Richard Charlton, missionary at S. Andrew's Church in Richmond County, having died, Seabury preached in December, 1777, to about three hundred people. Though assigned to the parish, Seabury was exceedingly timid in taking active charge, especially as groups of "New Jersey banditti" were wont to raid Staten Island. Having received the degree of Doctor of Divinity on December 15th, 1777, from Oxford, Seabury allowed two other priests to officiate for him on Staten Island, the Rev. James Barker serving from July 1st, 1778, till March 28th, 1780, and then the Rev. Thomas Field, a regimental chaplain, took charge from May 14th, 1780, till 1782. Seabury preferred to reside in New York† and practice medicine, being physician to the City Almshouse.‡ There was little enough to report to the Society, as Seabury was busy with military and charitable concerns, he could but note in 1778 that the Duxbury (Staten Island) glebe, upon which soldiers were camped, had no

*Discourse on Psalm CXXXIII 1, preached June 24th, 1777, later published with a dedication to the lodge, dated July 4th, 1777 (copy in N. Y. H. S.).

†Seabury to S. P. G. Nov. 22nd, 1778 (Hawks)—"I am obliged still to continue at New York, it being impracticable for me to return to Westchester or to reside with safety on Staten Island."

‡Memorial of George Diffendorf May 14th, 1781 (Amer. MSS in Royal Institution 29[212-3] a refugee from Philadelphia, with medical certificate by Seabury May 17th that as physician to the Almshouse, he found Diffendorf's throat cut when brought in.

fences, the timber was cut off and a large apple orchard was nearly destroyed.

In August, 1782, Sir Guy Carleton informed General Washington that peace negotiations were in progress at Paris, and active warfare was halted, though both forces were quite wary until November 30th, when actual peace was proclaimed. The cessation of activities deeply affected loyalists and Churchmen, both groups fearing the future policy of the United States. A solemn declaration* was addressed to Sir Guy on December 18th, 1782, by the American Loyalists, petitioning the King not to withdraw his royal protection from them. The signers of this affirmation of loyalty to the Crown were headed by Drs. Charles Inglis and Samuel Seabury, both future bishops. The latter had, on S. John the Evangelists' Day preached before the Grand Lodge of New York Masons† at S. Paul's Chapel, from the text "Let Brotherly Love Continue." Seabury's commission as chaplain, continued in effect till his embarkation for England as a result of the Woodbury Convention, Sir Guy Carleton noting on August 14th that Seabury among other chaplains had been superseded. The half-pay to which his commission then entitled him was continued throughout the remainder of his life by the British Government. From his London lodgings at 393 Oxford Street Seabury soon drew up a memorial to the Loyalist Commissioners, dated October 20th, 1783, reciting his loyalty and assistance to the cause of Government. Not before September 18th, 1784, was he called on to give testimony.‡ on his losses, and having claimed a £50 loss, the Commission awarded £30 on the claim.

**Amer. MSS in Royal Institution 44/179-181.*

†*Discourse on Hebrews XIII-1, published 1783 with a dedication by Seabury dated Jan. 15th, 1783—(copy in N. Y. H. S.).*

‡*Concerning his income, which was augmented by a little medical practice, Seabury listed his Westchester living at £120, the glebe as £50 with perquisites £20, his S. P. G. stipend as £50, with the school bringing in about £150 N. Y. Currency. The S. P. G. continued to pay Seabury in 1784, though listing him as "now in England."*

THE ELECTION AND CONSECRATION*

By E. Clowes Chorley

IN the year of our Lord, seventeen hundred and eighty three, ten of the clergy of Connecticut met in secret in the Glebe House at Woodbury for the purpose of selecting someone to proceed to England and apply for consecration as Bishop of Connecticut.

One reason for the secrecy was the fear that the State authorities, dominated as they were by the Congregationalists, might intervene and thwart the plan. But there was another and a more powerful reason. The clergy of Connecticut were disturbed over certain developments in the Church to the "Southward" which included all the country outside New England. Their apprehensions were quickened by the publication of a pamphlet by the Reverend Doctor William White, minister of the united churches of Philadelphia, under the title of *The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered*. It was first published anonymously in 1782. At that time there was no bishop here and apparently no prospect of obtaining one. In the meantime the church in these colonies was threatened with extinction for lack of any union and jurisdiction. To meet this situation the author, among other things, suggested as a provisional substitute for a bishop a presiding presbyter with powers of ordination. It should be carefully noted that the moment peace was signed between Great Britain and the United States, this pamphlet was withdrawn as being no longer necessary.

Meanwhile, the principle enunciated met with strong opposition on the part of the Connecticut clergy. It was voiced in a memorable letter written by Jarvis to White and also occupied a large place in the official communication sent to the Archbishop of York to whom Jarvis wrote saying of the plan, "we think it our duty to reject such a spurious substitute for Episcopacy, and, as far as may be in our power, to prevent its taking effect." The Connecticut plan to guard against such an imminent danger was to secure the valid episcopate at the hands of the English Church.

The clergy present "selected two persons, Jeremiah Leaming and Samuel Seabury, as suitable, either of them, to go to England, and obtain if possible, Episcopal consecration."† Leaming declined.

**Copyright.*

†*Beardsley. Life of Bishop Seabury, p. 78.*

Writing to the notorious Dr. Samuel Peters, then a refugee in London, Leaming says,

"You ask me why I was not Bishop of Connecticut. I was bishop elect, by vote of the clergy here; but fearing the Church might suffer under my poor abilities, caused me to answer *Nolo Episcopare*. Had I known that Dr. Seabury had so many personal enemies, I should not have given the answer I did. This is under the rose; and you force me to say that, which I wish not to be repeated."*

Again, on November 9, 1787, he writes to Peters,

"Everything ought to be easy, when it is so easy to be made a Bishop, and so easy to conduct the business when they are made. Had I known this before, I should not have been so diffident as I have been."†

But for that diffidence Jeremiah Leaming might have been the first American bishop instead of Samuel Seabury.

But Seabury it was. He sailed from New York in the flag-ship of Admiral Digby and arrived in London on July 7, 1783. He carried with him a letter to the Archbishop of York, signed by the Rev. Abraham Jarvis, secretary; a Testimonial signed by the Rev. Dr. Inglis, rector of Trinity Church, New York; Benjamin Moore, Assistant minister of the parish, and the Rev. John Odell, missionary at Burlington, New Jersey. The plan was that after his consecration he should return to New London as the S. P. G. missionary in the hope that the Governor of Connecticut would allow him to exercise his spiritual office. If this were denied he was to go to Nova Scotia. The Rev. Daniel Fogg states that "The clergy have even gone so far as to instruct Dr. Seabury, if none of the regular Bishops of the Church of England will ordain him, to go down to Scotland and receive ordination from a nonjuring Bishop."‡

The following Letters recite his experiences in London from July, 1783, to September, 1784. They are followed by the correspondence which resulted in his journey to Scotland, and a few letters written to old friends after his consecration. They were months of weary waiting and financial anxiety, for it must be remembered that he bore all the expense and he was by no means a rich man.

Dr. Seabury journeyed across the broad Atlantic for a very definite purpose, a purpose which stands out very clearly in these letters. It was to secure what he called a "free and valid episcopate" for the American Church. His interest was not primarily personal.

**Historical Magazine*, Vol. I, p. 131.

†*Historical Magazine*, Vol. I, p. 184.

‡*Seabury. Memoir of Bishop Seabury*, p. 190.

He stood ready to subordinate any personal claims to the good of the Church. "Should there be anything personal with regard to me," he wrote one month after his arrival in London, "let it not retard the matter. I will most readily give up my pretensions to any person who shall be more agreeable to you, and less exceptionable to the State." When he thought it possible that the State Assembly of Connecticut might accept a resident bishop other than himself, he wrote, "Should that be the case, I beg that no clergyman in Connecticut will hesitate on my account. The point is to get the Episcopal authority into that country; and he shall have every assistance in my power." This attitude is emphasized again and again in the correspondence.

He had embarked at the bidding of his brethren upon a difficult and, as it proved, an impossible task, for he had to secure the approval alike of the Church and of the State. One could not act without the other. The temper of the times enhanced the difficulty of the task. The English Church was hopelessly Erastian, and the secular government was timid. Especially so in any matter relating to the American colonies the independence of which was so recent and recognized not from choice, but from necessity.

Dr. Seabury's first approach was to the English ecclesiastical authorities represented by John Moore, Archbishop of Canterbury, William Markham, Archbishop of York, and Robert Lowth, Bishop of London, and later to the Bishop of Oxford. Lowth was "cordial," but non-committal. He "approved of the scheme; wished it success," but was not disposed "to take the lead in the matter." Archbishop Moore likewise approved of the plan, but "foresaw great difficulties, though he hoped they might be surmounted." The English bishops felt that they had no right to send a bishop to Connecticut without the consent of the State and of the laity; that he would not be received and that there would be no adequate support for him. Beside all that, they did not see how the oaths in the Consecration Office could be dispensed with without the consent of the King's Council, and that the Council "would not give their concurrence without the permission of the State of Connecticut to the bishop's residing among them."

In the most painstaking fashion Seabury tried to explain the relation of the State of Connecticut to the matter, but without evident success. He therefore wrote to Abraham Jarvis asking the clergy to apply to the State Assembly "for permission to have a Bishop reside there," and in the same letter he mentioned the problem of the support of the bishop, as, he added, "The bishops here seem apprehensive that the Character will sink into contempt unless there be

some competent and permanent fund for its support." Pending a reply to this communication he pursued a policy of patient waiting for some definite word from the Archbishop who had undertaken to consult the Crown lawyer and the whole bench of Bishops. But as early as October 20th, 1783, he wrote, "I think the determination will be against us."

Assembled in Convocation at Wallingford the Connecticut clergy voted that Mr. Leaming, Mr. Hubbard and Mr. Jarvis be a committee to collect the opinions of the leading members of the Assembly concerning an application by the clergy of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut for the legal protection of a bishop for said Church, when they shall be able to secure one agreeable to the common rights of Christians, as these rights are now claimed and understood by all denominations of Christians in the State."* Prior to this step the State of Connecticut had removed the disabilities under which religious bodies, other than Congregationalists, had suffered.

They reported to Dr. Seabury that they had conferred with the leading members of the House of Assembly; had been cordially received and advised that there was no necessity to seek permission for a bishop to reside in the State. "Let," they said, "a bishop come; and he will stand upon the same ground that the rest of the clergy do." This they thought "must be enough to satisfy the bishops and all concerned in the affair in England." The committee further reported to Dr. Seabury that the Legislature, so far from taking umbrage, "the more liberal part, will consider the bishops in this transaction as maintaining entire consistency of principle and character, and by so doing merit their commendation." On the matter of support the letter concludes with these significant words: "A bishop in Connecticut must in some degree, be of the primitive style. With patience and a share of primitive zeal, he must rest for support on the Church which he serves, as head in her ministrations, unornamented with the temporal dignity and without props of secular power. An episcopate of this plain and simple character, amid the doubts and uncertainty which at present in a measure pervade everything, we hope may pass unenvied and its sacred functions be performed unobstructed . . . yet if you cannot find yourself disposed to come to us under these circumstances, painful necessity must compel us to wait patiently until divine providence shall open a door propitious to our wants. But, in the mean time, with the help of God, we will not remit our endeavors to preserve, and as far as in us lies, cherish this remnant of the Church."

Dr. Seabury hastened to inform the ecclesiastical authorities of the attitude of the State of Connecticut. The Bishop of London

*Beardsley. *Life and Correspondence of Samuel Seabury*, p. 112.

thought it satisfactory, and left the only requisite to the consecration an Act of Parliament to dispense with the Oaths, and he imagined that could be easily obtained. The Bishop of Oxford, whom Seabury describes as "much of a gentleman, and a man of learning and of business," hardly thought it sufficient ground to proceed upon. The Archbishop of Canterbury, "polite, though cool and restrained," was more cautious. He pointed out that it was still the application of the clergy only, and that the permission was only the permission of individuals, and not of the Legislature, and he was still of the opinion that an Act of Parliament would be necessary.

It was at this point that Dr. Seabury wrote to Connecticut asking "whether it would be agreeable to the clergy in Connecticut that I should apply to the Non-Juring Bishops in Scotland"? In June, 1784, after a long conversation with the two Archbishops he wrote home, "I apprehend there are some difficulties here that may not easily be got over." He adds that he has consulted "some very respectable clergymen who expressed the "opinion that it was his duty to obtain Episcopal consecration wherever it can be had," and adds, "the Scotch succession was named. It was said to be equal to any succession in the world." Evidently he had had some assurance that there would be no difficulty in that quarter, for he says, "There I know consecration can be had," and again he asks instructions on this point from the Connecticut clergy.

It is quite clear from the correspondence that some time during this year Seabury visited Scotland and some negotiations were carried on with the Non-Juring Bishops. It is further evident from a subsequent letter written by Bishop Kilgour that the Scottish bishops had agreed to the consecration and were inclined to be hurt that Dr. Seabury did not take advantage of the opportunity at that time. The reason, however, was obvious. His instructions were to obtain consecration in England if at all possible. The clergy of Connecticut were missionaries of the S. P. G., as was Seabury himself, and there was a natural desire to obtain the English succession for America. Moreover, in the middle of 1784 there was distinct hope of success in London. In accord with his instructions any application to Scotland must be made only in case of complete failure in England. Meanwhile, Seabury threw an anchor to the windward.

When Seabury received the copy of the act of the Legislature of Connecticut establishing religious freedom in that State, he took it to the Archbishop, who declared himself fully satisfied and "that the Connecticut Episcopate should have his fullest support." A Bill, which would enable the English bishops to consecrate, was to be introduced in Parliament and the Archbishop "believed he had con-

vinced the Ld Chancellor of the Justice, Humanity & propriety of the measure, & of the necessity of carrying it into immediate execution." He was to see Mr. Pitt and assured Seabury "that he persuaded himself, nay, *confidently hoped* that it would end to my entire satisfaction." With this assurance Seabury was willing to wait until the end of the session of Parliament. But, he writes, "If nothing be done, I shall give up the matter here as unattainable, and apply to the North, unless I should receive contrary directions from the clergy of Connecticut."

After inexcusable delays the ecclesiastical authorities had at last determined to apply for the necessary authority to consecrate from Parliament. From that moment the plan was doomed. The Church was lukewarm, but the State was adamant. Had Lord North and William Fox continued in power there was hope for the bill, but Pitt would have nothing to do with it. Fourteen days later the Archbishop informed Seabury that the ministry had refused to comply with the request, "and had declared peremptorily that they would not suffer a bill authorizing the consecration of a Bishop for any of the States of America to pass the House of Commons." The reasons advanced for this attitude were the lack of the consent of Congress and of the State of Connecticut; the lack of any application from the laity of Connecticut; the fact that there were no dioceses in America and no provision for the support of Bishops, and—apparently most important of all—"That having never sent a Bishop into America while the 13 States were subject to G. Britain, it would have a very suspicious appearance to do it now, & would probably create or augment ill in that country against this." Asked by the Archbishop if he could get over these objections, Seabury tartly answered, that they "shewed such a total ignorance of the State & temper of the Americans in general, & of the Episcopalians in particular, & of the Articles of Confederation of the 13 States; & manifested such an inattention to the interest, harmony & mutual intercourse & political connection of the two countries; that I must think they were intended to perplex & finally to defeat the measure entirely—that I thought it would be lost labour, & lost time to attempt it. That the die was cast, & the ministry had refused to meet the Americans even on the friendly ground of a religious connection. That the Amⁿ Episcopalians must now look to some other country for a valid & clear Episcopate, & I hoped they would find, in some corner of the world, that attention to the common interests of Christianity which they had here sought in vain." "This," writes Seabury, "was the sum of my answers—I was an hour & a half with his Grace, & I fear some times in danger of loosing my temper, as he thrice called on me to explain some hard

expressions that fell from me." It is extraordinary that at parting the Archbishop "requested that I would use my influence to prevent the Con^t Clergy from applying elsewhere; but this I could not do unless on an absolute promise of succeeding here."

There are very clear indications that the attitude of the British government was partly due to what Jeremiah Leaming bluntly calls "Presbyterian machinations." This is apparent from both the Seabury and Leaming letters. On his first arrival in London Seabury was apprehensive that the Congregational influence in Connecticut would be exerted on friends in London to prevent the consecration. In a letter to Dr. Peters, Jeremiah Leaming stated that "Ezra (Ezra Stiles, President of Yale) wrote to Dr. Price, and desired him to engage Billy Whig (Pitt), to oppose every movement for our having our petition granted."* That Seabury was of the same opinion is evident from his letter to Abraham Jarvis when he wrote, "I could not help suspecting that Presbyterian influence had prevailed on Mr. Pitt to act so directly contrary to the views of the Archbishop"; later in the same letter he writes, "The present premier is so entirely under the influence, or in the interest, of the Presbyterian party, that I am confident Dr. Price† has more weight with him, than the whole bench of Bishops." Nor, according to Jeremiah Leaming, did the Doctor cease his efforts when Seabury was actually consecrated. On January 22, 1787, Leaming wrote Dr. Peters saying, "When Price found that S was consecrated in Scotland; he then engaged Billy Whig to send his mandate to the second man in the kingdom, and ordered him to dismiss all the missionaries in these stations; and give large salaries to the clergy that would go to Nova Scotia—and that means put end to the Church here, which was the view of Ezra."‡

Dr. Seabury's later letters of 1784 make it clear that he gradually abandoned any hope of obtaining consecration in England. A short time before Pitt's refusal was communicated to him he addressed a letter to the Reverend Doctor Myles Cooper, former President of King's College, New York, and then holding a cure in Edinburgh intimating his willingness to "set off for the North at twenty-four

**Historical Magazine*, Vol. I, p. 137.

†The Rev. Richard Price, born in Wales, February 23, 1722, was a well known authority on philosophy and mathematics. His writings on the national debt influenced William Pitt to create a sinking fund for its extinction. He was strongly opposed to the war with the American colonies and in 1776 published a pamphlet entitled, "Observations on Civil Liberty and the Justice and Policy of the War with America." Among its critics were the Archbishop of York, John Wesley and Edmund Burke. By means of this and other writings Dr. Price became identified in the public mind with the cause of American independence, and was invited by Congress to come to America and assist in the administration of the finances. He appears to have carried on a correspondence with Ezra Stiles, President of Yale, and to have been the medium through which the Puritans of Connecticut voiced their opposition to the settling of a Bishop in New England.

‡*Historical Magazine*, Vol. I., p. 138.

hours notice. He felt at liberty to pursue a course which would insure to Connecticut "a valid episcopacy," and such he took "the Scotch Episcopacy to be in every sense of the word," and such he knew "the clergy of Connecticut to consider it." Dr. Cooper immediately forwarded this letter to Bishop Kilgour in Scotland through the medium of the Reverend John Allan, one of two brothers in the ministry of the Scottish Church. The reply of the bishop will be found in this printed correspondence. On behalf of the Non-Juring Bishops he expressed their willingness "to clothe him with the Episcopal character, and thereby convey to the western world the blessing of a free, valid and purely ecclesiastical Episcopacy, not doubting that he will so agree with us in doctrine and discipline, as that he and the Church under his charge in Connecticut will hold communion with us and the Church here on catholic and primitive principles; and so that the members of both may with freedom communicate together in all the offices of Religion." Dr. Seabury promptly intimated his intention to proceed to Aberdeen.

The idea of the Non-Juring Bishops conferring the Episcopate on the American Church was broached even before the selection of Dr. Seabury as Bishop of Connecticut. In October, 1782, before the independence of the colonies was recognized by Great Britain, the Reverend Doctor George Berkley, son of the famous Bishop of Cloyne, addressed a letter to the Reverend John Skinner expressing the hope "that a most important good might ere long be derived to the suffering and nearly neglected sons of Protestant Episcopacy on the other side of the Atlantic, from the suffering Church of Scotland. I would humbly submit it to the bishops of the Church in Scotland (as we style her in Oxford), whether this be not a time peculiarly favourable to the introduction of the Protestant Episcopate on the footing of universal toleration, and before any anti-episcopal establishment shall have taken place. God direct the hearts of your prelates in this matter."* Writing again after Dr. Skinner had become a bishop Berkeley said, "From the Churches of England and Ireland, America will not now receive the Episcopate: if she might, I am persuaded that many of her sons would joyfully receive bishops from Scotland. The question, then, shortly, is, Can any proper persons be found who, with the spirit of confessors, would convey the great blessing of the Protestant Episcopate from the persecuted Church of Scotland to the struggling, persecuted Protestant Episcopalian worshippers in America? If so, is it not the duty of all and every bishop of the Church in Scotland to contribute towards sending into the New World

*Beardsley. *History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut*, Vol. I., p. 361-2.

Protestant bishops, before general assemblies can be held and covenants taken for their perpetual exclusion? *Liberavi animam meam.*"*

Bishop Skinner was perforce cautious in his reply. He said "Nothing can be done in the affair, with safety on our side, till the independence of America be fully and irrevocably recognized by the Government of Great Britain; and even then the enemies of our Church might make a handle of our correspondence with the colonies, as a proof that we always wished to fish in troubled waters; and we have little need to give any ground for an imputation of that kind."†

The situation, however, changed with the recognition of the independence of the American colonies by Great Britain; still more so by the selection of Dr. Seabury as Bishop of Connecticut, his arrival in England and his inability to obtain consecration there. A Mr. Elphinston, son of a Scotch clergyman, put this question to the Scotch *Primus*: "Can consecration be obtained in Scotland for an already dignified and well-vouched American clergyman, now at London, for the purpose of perpetuating the episcopal reformed Church in America, particularly in Connecticut?" At this juncture Dr. Berkeley again wrote, "I have this day heard, I need not add, with the sincerest pleasure, that a respectable presbyter, well recommended from America, has arrived in London, seeking what, it seems, in the present state of affairs, he cannot expect to receive in our Church. Surely, dear sir, the Scotch prelates, who are not shackled by any *Erastian connexion*, will not send this suppliant empty away."‡

They did not. On the 14th day of November, 1784, in an upper room used as a chapel, Samuel Seabury was consecrated a Bishop in the Church of God. The consecrators were Robert Kilgour, *Primus*, Bishop of Aberdeen,§ Arthur Petrie, the Bishop of Ross and Caithness,° and John Skinner, coadjutor Bishop of Aberdeen.** It is on record that the service was conducted "in the presence of a considerable number of respectable clergymen and a great number of the laity." In the afternoon of that day Bishop Seabury preached in the chapel. The official record of the Consecration runs thus:

*Beardsley. *History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut*, Vol. I., p. 361-2.

†Beardsley. *History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut*, Vol. I., p. 362.

‡Wilberforce. *A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America*, p. 199ff.

§Robert Kilgour, "Presbyter at Peterhead," was consecrated Bishop of Aberdeen at Cupar in Fife, on September 21st, 1768, by Bishop Falconar Primus, Bishop Raitt and Bishop Forbes. He died in 1790 in his seventy-sixth year. (Cf. Shea. *Memoir of the Seabury Commemoration*, 1884, p. 97.)

°Arthur Petrie, "Presbyter at Meiklefolla," was consecrated bishop-coadjutor at Dundee on June 27, 1776, by Bishop Falconar Primus, Bishop Kilgour and Bishop Rose. He was appointed Bishop of Ross and Caithness July 8, 1777.

**John Skinner, "Presbyter in Aberdeen," was consecrated bishop-coadjutor at Luthermuir, in the diocese of Brechin, on September 25, 1782. The consecrating bishops were Robert Kilgour Primus, Charles Rose, Bishop of Dunblane, and Arthur Petrie. In 1788 he succeeded Kilgour as Primus and died July 13, 1816, in his seventy-second year.

1784. Nov. 14. *Dr. Samuel Seabury, Presbyter, from the State of Connecticut, in America, was consecrated Bishop, at Aberdeen, by Bishop Kilgour, Primus, Bishop Petrie and Bishop Skinner. The deed of consecration is as follows:*

IN DEI NOMINE. AMEN

Omnibus ubique Catholicis per presentes patent,
 Nos, Robertum Kilgour, miseratione divina Episcopum Aberdonien, Arthurum Petrie, Episcopum Rossen et Moravien et Joannem Skinner, Episcopum Coadjutorem, Mysteria Sacra Domini nostri Jesu Christi in Oratorio supradicti Joannis Skinner apud Aberdoniam celebrantes, Divini Numinis Præsidio fretos (presentibus tam e Clero quam e Populo testibus idoneis) Samuelem Seabury, Doctorem Divinitatis, sacro Presbyteratus ordine jam decoratum ac nobis præ Vitæ integritate, Morum probitate et Orthodoxia commendatum, et ad docendum et regendum aptum et idoneum, ad sacrum et sublimem Episcopatus Ordinem promovisse, et rite ac canonice, secundum Morem et Ritus Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, consecrasse, Die Novembris decimo quarto, Anno Aeræ Christianæ Millesimo Septingentesimo Octagesimo Quarto. In cujus Rei Testimonium, Instrumento huic (chirographis nostris prius munito) Sigilla nostra apponi mandavimus.

Robertus Kilgour, Episcopus, et Primus. (L. S.)

Arthurus Petrie, Episcopus. (L. S.)

Joannes Skinner, Episcopus. (L. S.)

The day following the consecrating bishops addressed a letter "To the Episcopal Clergy in Connecticut, in North America," enclosing a copy of the Concordat.*

Ten days after his consecration Bishop Seabury wrote a cordial letter to "the Rev^d Mr. Samuel Peters," charging him to "carefully measure up all that is said and done." From Edinburgh, under date of December 3rd, he wrote a long letter to the Reverend Jonathan Boucher reviewing the whole situation. One month later he addressed a letter to Leaming, Jarvis and Hubbard in Connecticut informing

*The Concordat was an agreement entered into between the Scotch bishops and Bishop Seabury. They agreed to receive the whole doctrine of the Gospel; that the Church is the mystical Body of Christ, the chief ministers thereof being Bishops; that the Church in Connecticut was to be in full communion with the Church of Scotland and that there might be as nearly as possible "conformity of worship and doctrine between the two Churches." The vital section of the Concordate concerned the "Celebration of the holy Eucharist." In effect, Bishop Seabury pledged himself to endeavor consistent with "peace and prudence" to restore the Office as set forth in the first Prayer Book of Edward VI. Of this particular phase of the Concordate Bishop Seabury writes in an important letter to the Reverend Jonathan Boucher thus: "The Bishops expect the clergy of Connecticut will form their own Liturgy and Offices; yet they hope the English Liturgy, which is the one they use, will be retained, except the Communion Office, and that they wish should give place to the one in Edward the Sixth's Prayer Book. This matter I have engaged to lay before the clergy of Connecticut, and they will be left to their own judgment which to prefer." (Letter of December 3rd, 1784.)

them "that my business here is perfectly completed, in the best way I have been able to transact it." He speaks of his kind reception at the hands of the Scottish Bishops and of his consecration he says, "It was the most solemn day I ever passed; God grant I may never forget it," and he closes by saying, "Will you then accept your Bishop's blessing, and hearty prayers for your happiness in this world and the next? May God bless also, and keep, all the good clergy of Connecticut." * * *

In his letter to Boucher Bishop Seabury frankly discusses his relation to the Church of England in view of his Scotch consecration. "Upon the whole," he writes, "I know nothing, and am conscious that I have done nothing that ought to interrupt my connection with the Church of England. The Church in Connecticut has only done her duty in endeavoring to obtain an Episcopacy for herself, and I have only done my duty in carrying her endeavors into execution. Political reasons prevented her application from being complied with in England. It was natural in the next instance to apply to Scotland, whose Episcopacy, though now under a cloud, is the very same, in every ecclesiastical sense, with the English." The authorities of the Church of England, however, did not so view the transaction. They resented it. Bishop Seabury notes that "His Grace of Canterbury apprehended that my obtaining consecration in Scotland would create jealousies and schisms in the Church." He likewise feared that the Moravian bishops in America would be induced to ordain clergymen. On January 5th, 1785, he writes Jarvis, Hubbard and Leaming saying, "Since my return from Scotland, I have seen none of the bishops, but I have been informed that the step I have taken has displeased the two Archbishops."

In the manuscript Journal of the Rev. Charles Inglis, former rector of Trinity Church and later first Bishop of Nova Scotia, he records the receipt of a letter from the Rev. Doctor Thomas Bradbury Chandler "mentioning the political and ecclesiastical state of affairs in America." He shewed the letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury for, he writes, "His Grace had shewed much dissatisfaction at Bp. Seabury's going to Scotland for Consecration, in former conversations." And under date of October 21, 1785, he adds, "Had some conversation with Mr. Granville Sharpe, who mentioned his scruples about Bishop Seabury's consecration—told me he had written to Mr. Manning of Rhode Island and others in America, to prevent their joining with Bishop Seabury."*

The English bishops, however, seem to have repented, for Bishop

*A copy of this "Journal of Occurrences" is in the Library of the General Theological Seminary.

Seabury writes in a later letter of going to take leave of the two Archbishops and adds, "They received me with the greatest politeness, and parted with me in the most friendly and affectionate manner. So that I hope I shall be able to keep up a proper intercourse with them."*

On the 27th of February, 1785, before leaving for America, Bishop Seabury addressed a dignified letter to the Reverend Doctor Morice, secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, of which Society Seabury had been a missionary for more than thirty years. In it he recites the steps leading up to his selection in Connecticut; his failure to secure consecration in England, and the reasons for applying to the Scotch bishops. He trusts that no obstacle will arise or hinder a union between the Church of England and the Episcopal Church of America, and adds, "How far the venerable Society may think themselves justifiable in continuing me their Missionary, they only can determine. Should they do so, I shall esteem it as a favor. Should they do otherwise I can have no cause to complain. I beg them to believe that I shall ever retain a grateful sense of their favors to me during thirty-one years that I have been their Missionary; and that I shall remember with the utmost respect the kind attention which they have so long paid to the Church in that country for which I am now to embark."† No answer was made till April 25, when the Secretary wrote thus: "I am directed by the Society to express their approbation of your services as their Missionary, and to acquaint you that they cannot consistently with their Charter employ any Missionaries except in the plantations, colonies, and factories belonging to the kingdom of Great Britain; your case is of course comprehended under that general rule."‡ There can be no criticism of the technical attitude of the Society, bound as it was by its Charter. But it would have been a gracious thing to have expressed to the new Bishop the goodwill of the Society and its prayers for the success of his labors in the new world.

On June 20th, 1785, the Bishop landed on American soil. The event was recorded in the Journal of John Bours Esqr., of Newport, Rhode Island, reading as follows:

"June 20, 1785. Arrived in town, via Halifax, from England, Doctor Samuel Seabury, lately consecrated in Scotland, Bishop of the State of Connecticut. The Sunday following, did the duties of the Church (Trinity Parish) and preached A. M. and P. M. to a crowded audience from Heb. XII, 1st and 2nd verses. Monday proceeded to New London by water, where he is to reside."**

*Seabury. *Memoir of Bishop Seabury*, p. 255-56.

†Beardsley. *Life and Correspondence of Samuel Seabury*, p. 171-5.

‡Ibid., p. 176.

**Gospel Messenger, New York, December 21st, 1849.

A Boston newspaper, chronicling the great event, wrote:

"Two wonders of the world, a Stamp Act in Boston and a Bishop in Connecticut!"*

LETTERS RELATING TO THE CONSECRATION

The following are the letters relating to the effort to secure the consecration of Doctor Seabury. Most of them were written by him and they are here transcribed from the originals as found in the *Jarvis Papers* now in the possession of Professor Howard Chandler Robbins. Some of them are now published for the first time and shed valuable light on the situation in 1783 and 1784. The spelling is as in the original letters.

TO THE CLERGY OF CONNECTICUT

London, July 15, 1783.

GENTLEMEN,

In prosecution of the Business committed to me by you, I arrived in this City on the 7th Instant. Unfortunately the Abp of York† had left this City a fortnight before, so that I was deprived of his advice & Patronage. I waited on the Bp. of London‡ & met with a cordial Reception from him. He heartily approved of the Scheme, & wished Success to it, & declared his Readiness to concur with the two Abps in carrying it into Execution; but I soon found that he was not disposed to take the Lead in the matter. He mentioned the State Oaths in the Ordination Offices,§ as Impediments, but supposed that the King's Dispensation would be a sufficient Warrant for the Abps. to proceed upon. But on conferring with His Grace of Canterbury** I found his

**Boston Gazette*, May 30, 1785.

†Most Rev. William Markham.

‡The Rt. Rev. Robert Lowth.

§*The Rubric in the English Prayer Book for the consecration of Bishops runs, in part, as follows: "Then shall the Archbishop demand the King's Mandate for the Consecration, and cause it to be read. And the Oath touching the acknowledgement of the King's Supremacy, shall be ministered to the persons elected, as it is set down in the Form for the ordering of Deacons." The form there set forth reads:*

"I, A. B., do Swear, that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure as heretical, that damnable Doctrine and Position, that the Princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or any Authority of the See of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their Subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I do declare, that no foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State, or Potentate, hath or ought to have any Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority, Pre-eminence, or Authority Ecclesiastical or Spiritual, within this Realm.

So help me God."

**The Most Rev. John Moore. Archbishop Moore consecrated William White, Bishop of Pennsylvania, and Samuel Provoost, Bishop of New York, on February 4th, 1787; also, James Madison, as Bishop of Virginia, on September 10, 1790.

opinion rather different from the Bp. of London. He received me politely, approved of the Measure, saw the necessity of it, and would do all he could to carry it into Execution. But he must proceed openly & with Candor. His Majesty's Dispensation he feared would not be sufficient to justify the Omission of Oaths imposed by Act of Parliament. He would consult the other Bishops. He would advise with those Persons on whose Judgement he thought he could depend. He was glad to hear the opinion of the Bp. of London, & wished to know the Sentiments of the Abp. of York. He foresaw great Difficulties but hoped none of them were insurmountable.—I purpose to set out for York in a few days to consult the Abp. and will do everything in my Power to carry this Matter into a happy Issue. But it will require a great deal of time & Patience & Attention.—I endeavored to remove those Difficulties that the Abp. of Cant. mentioned. And I am not without Hopes that they will all be got over. My greatest fear arises from the Matter becoming public, as it now must, & that the Dissenters here will prevail on your Government to apply against it. this I think would effectually crush it, at least as far as it is related to Connecticut. You will therefore do well to attend to this Circumstance yourselves, and get such of your Friends as you can trust to find out, should any such Intelligence come from hence. In that case, I think it would be best to avow your Design, & try what strength you can muster in the Assembly to support it. But in this Matter your own Judgements will be a much better Guide to you than any opinion of mine.

I will again write to you on my return from York and shall then be able to tell you more precisely what is like to be the Success of this Business.

I am Reverend Gentlemen with the Greatest Respect & Esteem,

your most obliged Hum Serv^d
SAMUEL SEABURY.

LETTER TO THE CLERGY OF CONNECTICUT

The Rev^d Mr Ab^m Jarvis Middletown Connecticut

London Aug. 10, 1783

Reverend Gentlemen,

In the Letter I wrote to you after my Interview with the Abp of Canterbury, I informed you of the Objections made, and difficulties mentioned by him with Regard to the Business on which I came to England. I also informed you of my Intention to take a Journey to York, that I might have the full Benefit of his Grace of Yorks Advice and Influence. This Journey I have accomplished, and I fear to very little Purpose. His Grace is now carrying on a Cor-

respondence with the Abp. of Canterbury on the Subject, What the issue will be is not certain; but, I think, unless Matters can be put on a different Footing, the Business will not succeed. Both the Abps. are convinced of the necessity of supplying the States of America with Bishops if it be intended to preserve the Episcopal Church there; & they even seem sensible of the Justice of the present Application, but they are exceedingly embarrassed by the following Difficulties.

1. That it would be sending a Bishop to Connecticut, which they have no Right to do without the consent of the State.
2. That the Bishop would not be received in Connecticut.
3. That there would be no adequate Support for him.
4. That the Oaths in the Ordination Office cannot be got over; because the King's Dispensation would not be sufficient to justify the omission of those Oaths. At least there must be the Concurrence of the Kings Council to the omission; & that the Council would not give their concurrence without the Permission of the State of Connecticut to the Bishop's residing among them.

All that I could say had no Effect, and I had a fair opportunity of saying all that I wished to say. It now remains to be considered what method shall be taken to obtain the wished for Episcopate.

The Matter here will become public. Had you not Gentlemen, better make immediate application to the State for Permission to have a Bishop reside there. Should you not succeed you lose nothing, as I am pretty confident you will not succeed here without such Consent. Should there be anything Personal with Regard to me, let it not retard the Matter. I will most readily give up my Pretensions to any Person who shall be agreeable to you, & less exceptionable to the State.

You can make this attempt with all the strength you can muster among the Laity—and at the same time I would advise that some Persons be sent to try the State of Vermont on this Subject. In the mean time I will try to prepare & get things in a proper train here. I think I shall be able to get at the Duke of Portland & Lord North on the occasion. And should you succeed in either Instance, I think all difficulty would be at an End.

I am worthy Gentlemen, with the greatest Respect and Esteem, your much obliged & very hum^l Brother & Serv^t

SAM SEABURY.

LETTER TO THE REV. JEREMIAH LEAMING, D. D.

To the Rev^d Mr. Leaming
No 2 Fair Street,
New York.

By the Packet.

London Sept 3. 1783

My dear Sir,

Though I have so lately written to you as well as to the Clergy of Connecticut, explaining the Situation of the Business on which I came to England, yet I must more fully open my Mind to you; and you are to be the judge, whether any and how much of this Letter is to be shewed to anyone else.

With regard to my Success, I not only think it doubtful, but that the Probability is against it. Nobody here will risk anything for the sake of the Church, or for the Sake of continuing Episcopal Ordination in America. Unless therefore it can be made a ministerial Affair none of the Bishops will proceed in it for Fear of Clamour. And indeed the Ground on which they at present stand seems to me so uncertain that, I believe, they are obliged to take great Care with regard to any Step they take out of the common Road. They are apprehensive that my Consecration would be looked on in the Light of *Sending* a Bishop to Connecticut, & that the State of Connecticut would resent it, & that they should be considered as medlers in Matters that did not concern them. This is the great reason why I wish that the State of Connecticut should be applied to for their Consent—without it, I think, nothing will be done. If they refuse the whole Matter is at an End. If they consent that a Bishop should reside among them, the grand Obstacle will be removed. You see the necessity of making the attempt, & of making it with Vigor. One Reason, indeed, why I wished the Attempt to be made in Connecticut relates to myself. I cannot continue here long. Necessity will compel me to leave it in March or April at furthest.* If this Business fails, I must try to get some Provision made for myself. And, indeed the State of Connecticut may consent that a Bishop should reside among them, though they might not consent, that I should be the Man. In that case the sooner I shall know it the better. And should that be the Case, I beg that no Clergyman in Connecticut will hesitate on my account. The point is to get the Episcopal Authority into that Country; & he shall have every assistance in my Power.

Something should also be said about the Means of Support for a Bishop in that Country. The Bishops here seem apprehensive that the Character will sink into Contempt unless there be some competent and permanent Fund for its Support.—Please let your Opinion of what ought to be said

*Seabury went to England at his own cost, sacrificing the small property he possessed.

on that Subject be communicated by the first Opportunity, i. e. provided you think anything can be done in Connecticut.

Dr. Chandler's* appointment to Nova Scotia will I believe succeed. And possibly he may go thither this Autumn, or at least early in the Spring. But his Success will do no Good in the States of America. His Hands will be as much tied as the Hands of the Bishops in England; & I think he will run no risks to communicate the Episcopal Power. There is therefore everything depending on the success of the Application to the State of Connecticut. It must be made quickly lest the Dissenters here should interpose & prevent it; and it should be made with the united Efforts of Clergy and Laity, that the Weight may be the greater; and its Issue you must make me acquainted with as soon as you can. Please to send me one or two more Testimonials from the Copy which Dr. Inglis† has. Dr. Moore‡ & Mr. Odell will assist in Copying and getting them signed, & I may want them.

Your Letter has not yet been delivered to Dr. Morice.§ He has been out of Town, but is now returned. As soon as Dr. Chandler is at Leisure I will attend him, & will do all that you can wish me to do.

On the 27th of August I had the Pleasure of receiving a letter from you dated July 14th. The affair of the Library you mention I will endeavor to have brought before the Society (S. P. G.) at their next Meeting. But I wish first to speak to one or two of the Standing Committee, that the Bishops may find some Support when it comes to be Considered.

I write to nobody but to you & my Family. Be kind enough then to remember me with Affection to Dr. Inglis, Mess^{rs} Odell, Brown, Moore, &c &c that is the Clergy—to Mrs. Leaming & all under your roof. Tell my good friend Rivington** that I have received his kind letter of July 22 with its enclosure, & that I will write to him by Capt. Coupar who will return this Autumn to New York. By Capt. Coupar I expect to be able to acquaint you with the Result of the Interview of the two Archbishops on my Business. In the mean time may God direct & prosper all the Endeavors of his faithful Servants to the Establishment of his true Religion in the Western World. Adieu, Friend of my Heart! May I see thee again in Peace! May I again enjoy the Pleasure of thy Converse & with thee be instrumental in promoting the Welfare of Christ's Kingdom—Adieu!

I am thy ever affect^d

S. SEABURY.

*Rev. Dr. Thomas Bradbury Chandler.

†Rev. Dr. Charles Inglis, rector of Trinity Church, New York.

‡Rev. Dr. Benjamin Moore, Assistant minister of Trinity parish.

§The Rev. Dr. Morice was the clerical secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

**John Rivington, known as the "tory" bookseller in the city of New York.

Over

Let application be made also to the State of Vermont, lest that to Connecticut should fail.

LETTER TO THE REV. JEREMIAH LEAMING

No 393 Oxford Street London
Octor 20th, 1783.

My very dear Friend,

Notwithstanding I have written several letters to you, & to my worthy Brethren the Clergy of Connecticut, informing them of the difficulties & objections respecting the business upon which I came to London, yet I think it my duty again to state them to you, lest my former Letters may, some how or other, have failed of reaching your hands. They are made by Ahbps. are

1. The Impropriety of sending a Bishop to Connecticut, now it is a sovereign, independent State, over which they have no control without the desire or at least the permission of that State.
2. The Impropriety of sending a Bishop where there is no Diocese established, nor any provision made for his decent support.
3. The Obligations they are under by Law, & by their oath, to consecrate no Bishop without the King's Mandamus, which they suppose cannot be granted in this case, because the oaths in the ordination office are enjoined, not by Regal, but Parliamentary authority, which the King, they say, cannot dispense with.
4. The Impossibility which, they conceive, there is, of obtaining a dispensing act of Parliament without the desire or consent of the State of Connecticut.

To these objections I have made the best reply I could and the Abp of Cant. has answered me that he will consult the Crown Lawyer, & the Bench of Bishops when they come to town in November: So that I suppose I shall know the final determination about Christmas. This determination I think will be against me. Indeed I have been so persuaded that I should not proceed in the way proposed, ever since my return from Scotland, that had I not thought it my duty to examine & see whether there was no other possible chance of obtaining that Episcopate which is so absolutely necessary for the existence of our Church, in the States of America, I should certainly have returned to you with Capt. Coupar.—On this ground I thought that it would be right to try whether the State of Connecticut would consent to the measure; If they should, the other difficulties, I believe, may be removed; though even of this, I am far from being positive.

If the State should refuse their consent, the matter will be, I think at an end for the present. And indeed it will be necessary for me that it should be determined, one way or the other, as far as I am concerned, in the course of this winter; because I cannot possibly support the expence of living here longer than till March or April.—If therefore the Clergy think it best to apply to the State for their Consent, they must let me know the issue as soon as possible—If they think that an improvident plan, they must let me know whether they can give me positive assurances of a decent support from the Churches there, & what that support would certainly amount to—because should the Non-Jurors or any foreign bishop be applied to, I could expect no support from the Society,* or any other way from hence.—Should the State of Connecticut make any objection to me, let me be no bar, I beseech you. Let another be chosen, against whom they have no objections; I will resign my pretensions most willingly, I will assist him most readily, & with all my power.—But the business, as far, at least as I am concerned will not admit of delay. You know that, at present, I am utterly unprovided for. I must, this winter, procure some establishment for myself. It is a duty which, you are sensible, I owe to my children. If, therefore, you cannot do otherwise to your Satisfaction, send this letter to Mr. Jarvis or who else you please, by a particular messenger, I write yourself that no time may be lost. You may depend on it, that I will do everything I can; & if I succeed not, I will endeavor to remove obstructions out of the way of any one that may come after me.

We have a report here, which seems to stand on good ground, that the Clergy of Maryland are about to send home a Mr. Keen† upon the same business under the auspices of the State, at least of the lower house. If he be a good man I shall rejoice to see him here before I leave the country. Possibly he can get through the business, & then my disappointment will be of less consequence.

I write to nobody but to you; you will therefore show

**Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.*

†*Rev. Samuel Keene was born May 11, 1734; ordained deacon in London Sept. 21, 1760, and priest on the 29th. On March 23, 1762, he was inducted minister of St. Ann's parish, Maryland, and in 1767 became rector of St. Luke's parish, Queen Anne County. He attended the first convention of Maryland held November 9, 1780, and his name is appended to the Declaration of the Fundamental Rights and Liberties of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Maryland, dated August 13, 1783. Writing to the Rev. Doctor William White of Philadelphia, under date of October 22, 1783, the Rev. Doctor Charles Inglis, former rector of Trinity parish, New York City, says: "The News Papers, some time since, announced that the Clergy of Maryland had chosen Mr. Keene to be sent for Consecration to England; but I find the account was premature. Mr. Keene was a very worthy man when I knew him, and I doubt not he is so still." (History of the American Episcopal Church, Perry, Vol. II., p. 15n.) It is to be noted that the Rev. Doctor William Smith, president of Washington College, was selected to be consecrated as bishop by the clergy of Maryland on August 13, 1783, and that the name of Samuel Keene is attached to the testimonial. Mr. Keene died May 8, 1810, at the age of seventy-six.*

this letter to those whose advice you would wish to take. Dr. C.* wants to write to you, relating to some matters with the Society, but waits for some private hand whom he can confide in. You must proceed, my dear Sir, in the best way you can. I know not how I shall write to you again time enough to do any Service.—I wish anxiously to hear from you. I want to know how you are—what your prospects are &c. The Society I think will admit no new missionaries. They will however, I hope, continue their salaries to the old ones. They are to have a quarterly meeting in November, when, I suppose, these points will be determined.—God bless my worthy friend, the friend of my heart, prays your affect^{ed} S.

In response to the urgent request of Dr. Seabury that the legislature of the State of Connecticut be asked to give its consent to the residence of a bishop within the State, the clergy of Connecticut assembled in convention at Wallingford on January 13, 1784. The Seabury letters were read, and the following day it was “voted that Mr. Leaming, Mr. Hubbard, and Mr. Jarvis be a committee to collect the opinions of the leading members of the Assembly concerning an application by the clergy of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut for the legal protection of a bishop for said Church, when they shall be able to procure one agreeable to the common rights of Christians, as those rights are now claimed and understood by all denominations of Christians in the State.” (Beardsley. *Life and Correspondence of Samuel Seabury*, p. 112.)

This committee found that, in the opinion of those whom they consulted, not only was special permission unnecessary, but any application for it undesirable as tending to stir up opposition. The State had already passed a general act protecting the rights of all religious bodies. This sentiment was conveyed to Dr. Seabury in the following letter:—

LETTER FROM THE CLERGY OF CONNECT^T TO DR. SEABURY

Middletown, Feb. 5, 1784.

R & Dear Sir,

Since the receipt of your letters, addressed to the clergy in connecticut, we have by your letters to the Rev^d Mr. Leaming a more explicit information of the difficulties suggested by the Bishops in England, & which appear to operate upon their minds, against complying with our petition, & to their giving you episcopal consecration.

The clergy were immediately made acquainted with what you had written, & shortly after met at Wallingford. In convention it was voted,—that the leading members of

*Rev. Dr. Thomas Bradbury Chandler.

both houses of Assembly, which was then sitting at New Haven, should be conferred with, so far as the proposed difficulties had reference to the civil government. We the subscribers were appointed a committee of convention for the above purpose, and, as a conventional answer to your letters, communicate to you the result of that conference, together with our opinion, & what we could do, to obviate the objections made by the Bishops. Mr. Leaming and Mr. Hubbard conversed freely & fully with a number of principal Members of both houses of Assembly, & collected their Sentiments on the subject. They met with a degree of attention and candour beyond our expectations, & in respect of the need, the propriety, or the prudence of our application to government for the admission of a Bishop into the State, their opinions appeared fully to coincide with our own. Your right, they said is unquestionable. You have therefore our full concurrence for your enjoyment of what you judge essential to your Church. Was an act of assembly expedient to your complete enjoyment of your own ecclesiastical constitution, we would freely give our vote for such an act. We have passed a law which embraces your church, wherein are comprehended all the legal rights & powers, intended by our constitution to be given to any denomination of christians. In that act is included all you want. Let a Bishop come; by that act, he will stand upon the same ground that the rest of the clergy do, or the church at large. It was remarked, that there were some, who would oppose & would labor to excite opposition among the people, who if unalarmed by any Jealousies, will probably remain quiet. For which reason it would be impolicy both in us, & them, for the assembly to meddle at all with their Business. The introduction of a Bishop, on the present footing, without anything more, in their opinion would be the easiest & surest way in which it could be done, & we might be sure of his protection. This they thought must be enough to satisfy the Bishops, & all concerned in the affair in England. We are further authorized to say, that the legislature of the State would be so far from taking umbrage, that the more liberal part, will consider the Bishops in this transaction as maintaining entire consistency of principle & character, & by so doing merit their commendation.

The act above alluded to, you will receive enclosed in a letter from Mr. Leaming, attested by the Clerk of the lower house of assembly. It is not yet published. The clerk was so obliging as to copy it from the Journals of the house. You were mentioned as the gentleman we had pitched upon; the Secretary of the State, from personal knowledge, & others said things honorable & benevolent towards you. Now, if the opinion of the Governor & other members of the council explicitly given, in agreement with the most respectable Members among the representatives, who must be

admitted to be competent Judges of their own civil polity, is reasonably sufficient to remove all scruples about the concurrence of the legislature, we cannot imagine that objection, will any longer have a place in the minds of the archbishops. We here understand, as we suppose, the part which the government established among us, means to take in respect of religion in general, & the protection it will afford to the different denominations of christians under which the subjects of it are classed; and the lowest construction, which is all we expect, must amount to a permission that the episcopal church enjoy all the requisites of her polity, and have a Bishop to reside among them. We feel ourselves at some loss for a reply to the objection which relates to the limits & establishment of a diocese, because the government here is not episcopal, and because we do not conceive a civil or legal limitation & establishment of a diocese, essentially attached to the doctrine of episcopacy, or the existence of a Bishop in the church. The Presbyters who elect the Bishop, & the congregations to which they minister, may naturally direct his active superintendence, and prescribe the acknowledged boundaries of his diocese. Under existing circumstances, and it is utterly impossible to judge, with any certainty what in the course of divine providence may be the future condition of the church in this country, we can contemplate no other support for a Bishop than what is to be deprived from voluntary contracts & subscriptions & contributions directed by the good will & Zeal of the members of a Church who are taught, & do believe that a Bishop is the chief Minister in the kingdom of Christ on earth. Other engagements it is not in our power to enter into, than our best endeavors to obtain what our people can do, and we trust will continue to do, in proportion to the increase of their Ability, of which we flatter ourselves with some favorable prospect.

A Bishop in connecticut must in some degree, be of the primitive style. With patience & a share of primitive zeal, he must rest for support on the church which he serves, as head in her ministrations unornamented with the temporal Dignity, & without props of secular power. An episcopate of this plain and simple character, amidst the doubts & uncertainty which at present in a measure pervade everything, we hope may pass unenvied & its sacred functions be performed unobstructed. Should what we have now written be thought sufficient to do away the objections which have been advanced as a bar to your consecration: yet if you cannot find yourself disposed to come to us under these circumstances, painful necessity must compel us to wait patiently until divine providence shall open a door propitious to our wants. But, in the mean time, with the help of God, we will not remit in our endeavors to preserve, & as far as in us lies, cherish this remnant of the church.

We herewith transmit to you, two copies of our Letter.

& two of the general Testimonial Misled (attested) by the Secretary. Continuing fervently desirous of your success; & with our best wishes for your personal health & prosperity; we are in behalf of Convention,

JEREMIAH LEAMING,
ABRAHAM JARVIS,
BELA HUBBARD.

LETTER TO REV. JEREMIAH LEAMING OR REV. MR. HUBBARD

Oxford Street London No. 393

April 30/84

Gentlemen,

Your letter dated at Middletown Feb. 5 with the papers that accompanied it came duly to me by the Packet. I also received a Letter from Mr. Leaming, but no copy of the act of the Legislature to which in your letter you refer. I hope it is on the way.

I have communicated your Letter to the Abp. of York, & the Bps of London & Oxford. The last did not seem to think it quite satisfactory, but said the letter was a good one & gave him an advantageous opinion of the Gentlemen who wrote it, & of the Clergy of Connecticut in general—& that it was worthy of serious consideration. The Bp. of London thought it removed all the difficulties on your side of the Water, & that nothing was now wanting but an act of Parliament to dispence with the State Oaths, & he imagined that would be easily obtained. The Abp. of York gave no opinion but wished that I would loose no time in showing it to the Abp. of Cant. This happened yesterday. This morning I went to Lambeth, but his Grace was gone out 10 minutes before I got there. I shall go again tomorrow; but if I stay till I hear from him I shall loose this opportunity of writing, which I am not willing to do.

Upon the whole, your letter will do good. It attacks the objections in the right place, & answers them fairly; & will enable me to take up the business upon firmer ground. I have determined with myself, that if the Bps. hang back, to bring the matter before Parliament by petition & if that should fail, the scheme will be at an end here, I fear forever. Capt. Cougar will sail from hence in three weeks, & by him I hope to be able to give you some satisfactory accounts of my procedure.

You will, Gentlemen, inform my friends at New London how matters are situated. I hope to be with them in the course of this Summer, & shall not hesitate to trust my future prospects to God's Good Providence, & the kind endeavors of my Brethren to render my life comfortable, nay happy.

(I have desired my daughter Maria at New York, to re-

move to New London, if you & my friends at New London think well of it. How my children may fare I know not, but hope they will not suffer. Any attention that can be paid them will be gratefully acknowledged by me.)

This is a very hasty letter. I have had only 20 minutes to write it. My best wishes attend the Clergy of Connecticut. Nova Scotia affairs, civil & ecclesiastical, go on heavily. The Parliament is to meet May 18th. Mr. Leaming will forgive my not answering his letter now, because it is impossible. All the Clergy here are well.

Accept, my good, my dear friend, the most affectionate regards of your most obliged Hum^l Serv^t

S. SEABURY.

Rev^d Mes^{rs} Leaming, Hubbard & Jarvis, Connecticut.

LETTER TO REVEREND ABRAHAM JARVIS

No. 393 Oxford Street London
May 3rd, 1784.

My dear Sir,

I embrace an opportunity by the way of Rhode Island to address you as Secretary of the Convention, & to inform you that I have received a letter of the 5th of Feby signed by yourself & my very good Brethren Leaming & Hubbard, for which you all have my most hearty thanks. I am also to inform you that I wrote to you & them as a committee on the 30th of April, under cover to Mr. Ellison, by a vessel bound to New York (The Ship Buccleugh) acknowledging the receipt of the Letter above mentioned. Mine was a very hasty letter, but in it I acquainted you that I had shewn your letter to the Apb. of York. We were broken in upon by company, & he gave me no opinion on the letter; but desired that I would communicate it to the Apb. of Cant. & to the Bp. of London as soon as I conveniently could. I called in my way on the Bp. of Oxford, who has been very attentive to me, speaks his mind without reserve & is communicative, & hears me with patience & with candor, is much of a Gentleman, & a man of learning & business. He read the letter with attention—said he hardly thought it sufficient ground to proceed upon. I endeavored to explain the arguments you had used & to confirm them from the particular circumstances of the Church in Connecticut. He read the letter again, commended it, spoke handsomely of the gentlemen who wrote it, & of the Clergy of Connecticut who so anxiously strove to perpetuate the Episcopal Church—said it would be a great pity that so much piety and zeal in so good a cause should not obtain the wished-for object—that the letter certainly gave an opportunity for reconsidering the matter, & merited attentive deliberation, & that possibly he should yet come into the opinion of its writers—I am sorry that he leaves

town next week, as I shall thereby loose the benefit of his advice & assistance.

From him I went to the Bp. of London, who is an amiable man but very infirm & I think his memory & other faculties are declining; he avoids business as much as possible. Having read the Letter he asked many questions, & when he had fully apprehended the matter, he said he thought that every objection was removed on the part of the Connecticut Clergy, & that an act of Parliament, which he thought might be easily obtained, would remove the impediment of the State oaths, and he hoped that the Abp. of Cant. would see the matter in the same light as he did.

This morning I went to Lambeth but missed of seeing his Grace. On the first of May I went again. His Graces behaviour though polite, I thought, was cool & restrained. When he had read the letter he observed that it was still the application only of the Clergy, & that the permission was only the permission of individuals & not of the Legislature. I observed that the reason why the Legislature had not been applied to were specified in the letter, & that they appeared to me to be founded in reason & good sense. That had his Grace demanded the concurrence of the laity of the Church last autumn it might easily have been procured—That it was the first wish both of the Episcopal Clergy & Laity of Connecticut to have an Episcopate through the clear & uninterrupted channel of the Church of England, & my first wish that his grace and the Abp. of York & the Bp. of London might be the instruments of its conveyance, but that if such difficulties & objections lay in the way as it was impossible to remove, it was but lost time for me to pursue it further, but I hoped that his Grace would converse with the Abp. of York & the Bp. of London on the Subject. He said he certainly would as soon as he was able, but that he was then very unwell. I thought it was no good time to press the matter while the body & mind were not in perfect unison & rose to withdraw, offering to leave the letter, as it might be wanted. I will not, said he, take the original from you, lest it fare as the letter you brought from the Clergy of Connecticut has fared; I left it with Ld. North when he was in office & have never been able to recover it; but if you will favor me with copies of both letters, I shall be obliged to you. I promised compliance & took my leave.

Dr. Chandler has been with him today on the subject of the N. Scotia Episcopacy which I believe will be effected. His Grace introduced the subject of Connecticut; declared his readiness to do everything in his power, complimented the Clergy of Connecticut & your hum^l Serv^t, talked of an act of Parliament & mentioned that some young Gentlemen from the southern States, who were here soliciting orders, had applied to the danish Bps. through the medium of the danish Ambassador at the Hague, upon a supposition that

he was adverse to conferring orders upon them; but that the supposition was groundless, he being willing & ready to do it when it could be consistently done. The young gentlemen had met with every encouragement to, tempt them to a voyage to Denmark.

Upon the whole, you will perceive that your letter has done great service of itself; & it has enabled me to open a new battery, which I will mount with the heaviest cannon & mortars I can muster, & will play them as vigorously as possible.

I anxiously expect the next arrival from New York, in hopes I shall receive the Act you refer to respecting the Church in Connecticut, & which His Grace thinks will be necessary to enable him to proceed.

I hope, my dear friends, that I shall be with you in the course of this Summer, & be happy with you in the full enjoyment of our holy religion. Make my most affectionate regards to the Clergy as you have opportunity. No one esteems them more, or loves them more than I do—*They* are the *Salt* which must now preserve our Church from all decay & in perfect health & soundness.

I shall wait on his Grace on wednesday—this is Monday—and if I am fortunate enough to see him, shall put a note for you into the mail which will close on Wednesday night for New York.

Believe me to be your ever affectionate friend & very hum^l Servant,

S. SEABURY.

Rev. Abraham Jarvis.

LETTER TO REV. ABRAHAM JARVIS

No. 393 Oxford Street, London.

May 24, 1784.

My dear Sir,

By the last Packet I wrote to you as Secretary of the Episcopal Convention, under cover to Mr. Ellison at New York, & a day or two after by a Vessel to Rhode Island under cover to Mr. Jonⁿ Shaw of New London. Both which letters, I flatter myself, will get safe to you. Since those letters I have had two interviews with his Grace of Canterbury; the last this morning. He declares himself ready to do everything in his power to promote the business I am engaged in; but still thinks that an Act of Parliament will be necessary to enable him to proceed; & also that the Act of the Legislature of your State, which you mentioned would be sent to me by Mr. Leaming, is absolutely necessary on which to found an application to Parliament. I pleased myself with the prospect of receiving the copy of that act by the last packet, the Letters of which arrived here the 15th in-

stant; but great was my mortification that no letters came to me from my good & ever dear friends. What I shall do I know not, as the business is at a dead stand without it; & the Parliament is now sitting. If the next arrival does not bring it, I shall be at my wits end. Send it therefore, by all means even after the Receipt of this Letter; or if you have sent it, send a duplicate.

His Grace says he sees no reason to despair; but yet that matters are in such a state of uncertainty that he knows not how to promise anything. He complains of the people in power—that there is no getting them to attend to anything in which their own party is not concerned. This is certainly the worst country in the world to do business in. I wonder how they get along at any rate. But if I had the Act of your State which you refer to in your letter, I should be able to bring the matter to a crisis, & it would be determined one way or the other. And as it is attended with uncertainty whether I shall succeed here, I have in two or three letters to Mr. Leaming, requested to know, whether in case of failure here, it would be agreeable to the Clergy in Connecticut that I should apply to the Nonjuring Bps. in Scotland, who have been sounded & declare their readiness to carry the business into Execution. I hope to receive Instructions on this head by the next arrival, & in the mean time must watch actions as they rise.

Believe me, there is nothing that is not base that I would not do, nor any risk that I would not run, nor any inconvenience to myself, that I would not encounter, to carry this business into effect. And I assure you, if I do not succeed, it shall not be my Fault.

There is one piece of intelligence we have heard from Nova Scotia that gives me some uneasiness, viz: that Mes^{rs} Andrews,* Hubbard† and Scovill‡ are expected in N. Scotia this Summer, with a large proportion of their Congregations. This intelligence operates against us. For if these Gentlemen cannot, or if they & their Congregations do not choose to stay in Connecticut, why should a Bishop go there? I answer one reason of their going is the hopes of enjoying their

*Rev. Samuel Andrews (Yale), born at Meriden, Ct., was ordained in England and appointed S. P. G. missionary at Wallingford, with Cheshire and North Haven. In 1767 he made a missionary journey to "different towns and governments to the northward," reaching as far as Allington, New Hampshire. During the War of the Revolution he was placed under heavy bonds and not allowed to visit a parishioner without the special leave of the Selectmen of the town. (Beardsley, *Hty. of the Church in Connecticut*, Vol. I., p. 317.) About 1786 he removed to New Brunswick and was missionary of St. Andrews, Charlotte Co. He died September 26, 1818. (*Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*, Vol. II., pp. 852, 865.)

†Rev. Bela Hubbard.

‡Rev. James Scovill, born at Waterbury, Ct.; graduated from Yale 1757 and took his M. A. degree at King's College, New York, in 1761. Ordained in England, he was appointed S. P. G. missionary at Waterbury, his native town. Deprived of his grant from the S. P. G., he reluctantly accepted the offer of the Society to move to New Brunswick, and had charge of South Kingston from 1786 to 1808. He died December 19, 1808. (*Cf. Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*, Vol. II., p. 867.)

religion fully which they cannot do in Connecticut without a Bishop.

I beg my most respectful regards may be made to the Clergy of Connecticut, & that they will believe me to be anxiously engaged in the fulfilment of their wishes in the business of the Episcopate proposed.

Believe me to be, dear Sir, your hearty well wisher & very hum^l Serv^t,

S. SEABURY.

LETTER TO REV. ABRAHAM JARVIS

London, June 26, 1784.

My dear Sir,

I have now to inform you that I received on the 17th inst. Mr. Leaming's letter, inclosing the act of the legislature of Connecticut, respecting liberty of conscience in that State. Upon the whole, I think it a liberal one; and, if it be fairly interpreted and abided by, fully adequate to all good purposes. I have had a long conversation with the Abp. of Canterbury, and another with the Abp. of York, on the act. They seem to think the principal objections are removed as far as you or I are concerned. They spoke handsomely of the Clergy of Connecticut, and declared themselves satisfied with your humble servant, whom the clergy were pleased to recommend to them. But I apprehend there are some difficulties here that may not easily be got over. These arise from the restrictions the Bishops are under about consecrating without the King's leave, and the doubt seems to be about the King's leave to consecrate a Bishop who is not to reside in his dominions; and about the validity of his dispensing with the oath, in case he has power to grant leave of consecration. I have declared my opinion, which is, that as there is no law relative to a Bishop who is to reside in a foreign state, the Archbishops are left to the general laws of the Christian Church; and have no need either of the King's leave or dispensation. But the opinion of so little a man cannot have much weight. The Archbishop of Canterbury supposes that an act of Parliament will be necessary; yet he wishes to get through the business, if possible, without it, and acknowledged that the opinion of the majority of the Bishops differed from his. The questions are referred to the attorney and solicitor-general, and their opinion, should they agree, will, I presume, determine the point. This opinion, I hope, will be obtained in a short time, as the Archbishop of Canterbury has promised to consult them. Should I know the result time enough, I will give it to you by the next Packet, which will sail in a fortnight.

I have had opportunities of consulting some very respectable clergymen in this matter, and their invariable

opinion is, that should I be disappointed here, where the business had been so fairly, candidly, and honorably pursued, it would become my duty to obtain Episcopal consecration wherever it can be had, and that no exception could be taken here at my doing so. The Scotch succession was named. It was said to be equal to any succession in the world, &c. There I know consecration may be had. But with regard to this matter, I hope to hear from you in answer to a letter I wrote to Mr. Leaming, I think in April. Should I receive any instructions from the clergy of Connecticut, I shall attend to them; if not, I shall act according to the best advice I can get, and my own judgment.

Believe me, there is nothing I have so much at heart as the accomplishment of the business you have intrusted to my management; and I am ready to make every sacrifice of worldly consideration that may stand in the way of its completion. I am, reverend Sir, with the greatest esteem, your and the Clergy's most obedient servant,

SAMUEL SEABURY.

LETTER TO CLERGY OF COMMITTEE

London, July 26, 1784.

Gentlemen,

I take the opportunity by Mr. Townsend to write to you, although I have little more to say than I have already said in my late letters.

On the 21st Inst. I had an interview with the Archbishop of Canterbury. I was with him an hour. He entered fully & warmly into my business; declared himself fully sensible of the expediency, justice, and necessity of the measure; and also of the necessity of its being carried immediately into execution. An act of Parliament, however, will be requisite to enable the Bishops to proceed without incurring a *Praemunire*. A bill for this purpose I am encouraged to expect will be brought in as soon as the proper steps are taken to insure it an easy passage through the two Houses. The previous measures are now concerting, and I am flattered with every prospect of success. But everything here is attended with uncertainty till it is actually done. Men or measures, or both, may be changed to-morrow, and then all will be to go through again. However, I shall patiently wait the issue of the present session of Parliament, which, it is the common opinion, will continue a month longer. If nothing be done, I shall give up the matter here as unattainable, and apply to the North, unless I should receive contrary directions from the Clergy of Connecticut.

The various difficulties I have had to struggle with, and the various steps I have taken to get through them, are

too long to communicate by letter; but I hope to spend the next winter in Connecticut, and then you shall know all, at least all that I shall remember.

My best regards attend the Clergy and all my friends and the friends of the Church. I hope yet to spend some happy years with them. Accept, my good brethren, the best wishes of your affectionate humble servant,

SAMUEL SEABURY.

LETTER TO REV. ABRAHAM JARVIS*

London Sep^r 7th, 1784.

My dear Sir,

My latter letters to you, and to my other friends in America, have been rather of the sanguine complexion, and have represented my affair here as being in a way that promised success. The representation was a true & just one, and all our friends here supposed the matter would, in this time, have been completed. I am now, however, to inform you that it has absolutely & intirely failed, & I believe forever—certainly it will not take place under the present administration, & whether future administrations may be more favorable is very uncertain. The present premier is so intirely under the influence, or in the interest, of the presbyterian party, that I am confident Dr. Price has more weight with him, than the whole bench of Bishops. Had Ld. North & Wm. Fox continued in power matters would, I believe, have succeeded. They considered the abp. as an honest & sensible man; fully capable of managing all ecclesiastical affairs, & worthy of being absolutely confided in. They therefore immediately consented to the establishment of a Bishop in Nova Scotia, & I have every reason to believe would have readily consented to my Consecration had it come before them. But now the Nova Scotia business is dormant, & I suspect will not be resumed by the present ministry & to my consecration they have positively refused to consent.

After I received the copy of the Act of the Legislature of Connecticut, the abp. declared himself fully satisfied, & that the Connecticut Episcopate should have his fullest support. In some subsequent conversations, he said he should have some difficulty with some of the Members of the House of Commons, but believed he should obviate all objections by the manner & wording of the Bill, or sur-

**The Churchman's Magazine*, Vol. III., 1806, p. 276, which had previously published some of the Seabury letters, states that there was a letter from the clergy of Connecticut instructing Seabury to proceed to Scotland for consecration, and also one from Seabury to the clergy reporting the failure of his efforts in England, and adds, "all attempts to recover from them have been unsuccessful." The letter from Connecticut has not yet been discovered, but this letter from Seabury reporting his failure is clearly the one referred to.

mount them in the conduct of it. That he believed he had convinced the Ld. Chancellor (Thurlow) of the Justice, Humanity & propriety of the measure, & of the necessity of carrying it into immediate execution. That he should in a few days, have an interview with Mr. Pitt on the subject, & would take opportunity to converse with those persons from whom he expected an opposition, & would explain the business to them; & that he persuaded himself, nay, *confidently hoped* that it would end to my entire satisfaction, & that when he was prepared for another conversation with me he would inform me by note. About fourteen days after I received a note from his Grace desiring my attendance at Lambeth the next morning. The coolness & shortness of the note made me suspect that the matter had ended unfavorably; nor was I disappointed. His Grace began with expressing his sorrow at the ill success of his endeavors,—assured me that he had done everything that he could do—That he had made use of weapons & arguments which he thought were good ones, & ought to have carried conviction with them. The ministry had however refused to comply, & had declared peremptorily that they would not suffer a Bill authorizing the consecration of a Bishop for any of the States of America to pass the House of Commons. I asked what the reasons were on which the refusal was founded, and they were, as nearly as I could recollect them when I got home, as follows, viz:

1. That they could not consent to such a measure on any terms till the Nova Scotia Episcopacy was settled.
2. That they could not consent unless the Congress requested, or at least formally acquiesced in such a measure.
3. That Connecticut was only one State, & even their consent not Explicitly declared.
4. That the application was only from the Clergy, & not from the Laity of Connecticut.
5. That the Laity of the Episcopal communion in America were adverse to the having of Bps. resident among them.
6. That the Country was not divided into Dioceses, nor any provision made for Bishops.
7. That having never sent a Bishop into America while the 13 States were subject to G. Britain, it would have a very suspicious appearance to do it now, & would probably create or augment ill will in that country against this.

I was asked whether I thought I could get over these objections? I answered, that the objections shewed such a total ignorance of the State & temper of the American in

general, & of the Episcopalians in particular, & of the Articles of Confederation of the 13 States; & manifested such an inattention to the interest, harmony & mutual intercourse & political connection of the two countries; that I must think they were intended to perplex, & confound & finally to defeat the measure entirely—that I thought it would be lost labor, & lost time to attempt it. That the dye was cast, & the ministry had refused to meet the Americans even on the friendly ground of a religious connection. That the Amⁿ Episcopalians must now look to some other country for a valid & clear Episcopate, & I hoped they would find, in some corner of the world, that attention to the common interests of Christianity which they had here sought in vain.

1. With regard to N. Scotia, they had it in their power to complete that business whenever they pleased, this week as well as next year.

2. That the Congress, by the Articles of Confederation, were incompetent to the business; & that no application could be made to them without infringing the Sovereignty of the State of Connecticut.

3. That the State of Connecticut had, by the Act, given to his Grace, implied an acquiescence equal to the most explicit declaration.

4. That the Clergy of Connecticut were the proper persons to make the application, as they & not the Laity were to be under the control of the Bishop.

5. That as far as Connecticut was concerned the Laity were not averse to having Bishops resident among them—that how it was with the Laity to the Southward I knew not, nor was concerned to know.

6. That the Episcopal Congregations in Connecticut would naturally be the Bps. diocese—that their number intitled them to consideration, & that in the knowledge of their religion & in attachment to it they were not exceeded by the people in any part of England, not even excepting the diocese of Canterbury. That if we waited till the Country should be divided into regular dioceses, we might wait on, for that was not likely to happen—That with regard to maintenance, the consideration might indeed affect me, but it could affect nobody besides—That his Grace had the remedy in his own hands, in a great measure, as President of the Society,* & might appropriate a reasonable part of the annual income of the Legacies left to an Amⁿ Episcopate, to the State of Connecticut.

7. That having neglected a necessary duty for almost a Century was a very bad reason for continuing the neglect—That as the Bishop would have none but purely ecclesiastical powers, the State of Connecticut were too liberal in their sentiments to give any opposition.

**Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.*

This is the sum of my answers—I was an hour & a half with his Grace, & I fear some times in danger of loosing my temper, as he thrice called on me to explain some hard expressions that fell from me. At parting he requested that I would use my influence to prevent the Con^t Clergy from applying elsewhere; but this I could not do unless on an absolute promise of succeeding here. He then desired I would call on him again, especially if I got any new intelligence—this I promised, but have not yet been with him. Nor indeed do I now want to see him, lest he should draw from me explanations which I do not choose to make, at least to him. It is needless for me to make any reflections on the above mentioned. But my duty requires that I should inform you of what I have since done.

After my ideas had got again into regular train, I could not help suspecting that presbyterian influence had prevailed on M^r Pitt to act so directly contrary to the views of the abp. And I was apprehensive that this influence might be exerted in Connecticut, to stir up opposition there. And as all chance of succeeding here was at an end, I thought myself justifiable in endeavoring to introduce into Connecticut, a valid & clear Episcopacy from another quarter. I therefore wrote to Scotland, to try to renew a treaty which had proceeded pretty far when I received the Act you sent me. But as this Act made so great an impression on the Abp. & he appeared so confident of carrying the point, I thought it my duty to abide the issue, & so the Scotch treaty was suspended. This I find has given some umbrage there, but I hope to get over it, & expect to hear from them in a short time. On this subject I wrote several times, last winter & spring, to you & M^r Leaming, & hoped to have received some directions before this time, but have been disappointed. I have therefore acted on my own judgement, & on such advice as I could get here. I have consulted several American & English clergymen, & two lay members of the Society. They all without an exception concurred in my sentiments, & urged me to pursue the scheme. The event will depend on my next letters from Edinburgh. One embarrassment, even should they consent to renew the treaty, I fear. I have no approbation of such a step from the Cont Clergy, nor any assurance that they will receive such a Bp. But this I must try to get over should it be made an objection.

I have had here, my dear Sir, a very difficult and disagreeable part to act. I can give you no good account of it by letter. Unconnected, unsupported, unbefriended—nothing to rely on but the goodness of my cause & my own resolution, I have failed; but I have no reason to blame myself. The change in the ministry has been, to my views, unfortunate; But I cannot help it, & repining is useless—

God I hope will open a door of relief to the spiritual wants of the suffering, neglected & deprived Amⁿ Church.

This letter is intended for Mr. Leaming & Mr. Hubbard as well as yourself; & through their and your means, as a Committee, for the whole Con^t Clergy, & Laity too, if you think it proper; though for my own part, I should suppose that it would be best not to make any disappointment here, & the subsequent steps I have taken, made more public than necessary, lest opposition should be the consequence. But of this you will be able better to judge than I can.

You will also please to give such information to the Church at New London as your State think best. My best regards attend the Clergy & all friends. I am, dear Sir, with the greatest esteem, your very affectionate

hum^l Serv^t

S. SEABURY.

By this time Dr. Seabury had abandoned all hope of securing consecration at the hands of the English Bishops, and, as the following letters show, he definitely turned his face towards Scotland.

LETTER TO THE REVEREND DOCTOR MYLES COOPER*

London, August 31st, 1784.

My dear Sir,

I hope this letter will find you safe at Edinboro' in good health and spirits. Here everything, in which I have any concern, continues in the same state as when I saw you at your castle. I have been for some time past, and yet am, in daily expectation of hearing from Connecticut, but (there) have been no late arrivals, nor shall I wait for any provided I hear any favorable account from you, but shall hold myself in readiness to set off for the North at twenty-four hours' notice. With regard to myself, it is not my fault that I have not done it before, but I thought it my duty to pursue the plan marked out for me by the clergy of Connecticut, as long as there was any probable chance of succeeding. That probably is now at an end, and I think myself at liberty to pursue such other scheme as shall insure to them a valid Episcopacy, and such I take the Scotch Episcopacy to be in every sense of the word; and such I know the clergy of Connecticut consider it, and have always done so; but the con-

*Myles Cooper was educated at Queen's College, Oxford, taking the degree of Master of Arts in 1760. Two years later he was recommended by the Archbishop of Canterbury as well qualified to assist in the management of King's College, New York, of which Dr. Johnson was then President. He arrived in the autumn of 1762 and was appointed Professor of Moral Philosophy. Dr. Johnson resigned in 1763 and Myles Cooper succeeded him as President of the College. When the War of the Revolution broke out Dr. Cooper sympathized with Great Britain and resigned the presidency of the College and returned to England. On his death in 1785 he was the senior minister of the Episcopal Chapel in Cowgate, in the city of Edinburgh. (Lawson. History of the Scottish Episcopal Church, p. 315.)

nection that has always subsisted between them and the Church of England, and the generous support they have hitherto received from that Church, naturally led them, though no longer a part of the British dominions, to apply to that Church in the first instance for relief in their spiritual necessity. Unhappily the connection of this Church with the State is so intimate that the Bishops can do little without the consent of the Ministry, and the Ministry have refused to permit a Bishop to be consecrated for Connecticut, or for any other of the thirteen States, without the formal request, or at least consent, of Congress, which there is no chance of obtaining, and which the clergy would not apply for were the chance ever so good. They are content with having the Episcopal Church in Connecticut put upon the same footing with any other religious denomination. A copy of the law of the State of Connecticut, which enables the Episcopal congregations to transact their ecclesiastical affairs on their own principles, to tax their members for the maintenance of their clergy; for the support of their worship; for the building and repairing of churches, and which exempts them from all penalties, and from all other taxes on a religious account, I have in my possession. The Legislature of Connecticut know that a Bishop is applied for; they know the person in whose favor the application is made, and they give no opposition to either. Indeed, were they disposed to object, they have more prudence than to attempt to object to it. They know that there are in that State more than forty Episcopal congregations, many of them large, some of them making the majority of the inhabitants of large towns, and, with those that are scattered through the State, composing a body of near, or quite, forty thousand; a body too large to be needlessly affronted in an elective government.

On this ground it is that I apply to the good bishops in Scotland, and I hope I shall not apply in vain. If they consent to impart the Episcopal succession to the Church of Connecticut, they will, I think, do a good work, and the blessing of thousands will attend them. And perhaps for this cause, among others, God's providence had supported them, and continued their succession under various and great difficulties; that a free, valid, and purely ecclesiastical Episcopate may pass from them into the Western world.

As to anything I receive here, it has no influence on me and never has had any. I indeed think it my duty to conduct the matter in such a manner as shall risk the salaries which the missionaries in Connecticut receive from the Society* here as little as possible, and I persuade myself it may be done so as to make that risk next to nothing. With re-

**The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts had appointed the clergy in Connecticut to their respective stations and paid them a stipend which was supplemented, more or less, by the local parishes. These grants were withdrawn after the Independence of the United States.*

spect to my own salary, if the Society choose to withdraw it, I am ready to part with it.

It is a matter of some consequence to me that this affair be determined as soon as possible. I am anxious to return to America this autumn, and the winter is fast approaching, when the voyage will be attended with double inconvenience and danger, and the expense of continuing here another winter is greater than will suit my purse. I know you will give me the earliest intelligence in your power, and I shall wait patiently till I hear from you. My most respectful regards attend the Right Reverend Gentlemen under whose consideration this business will come, and as there are none but the most open and candid intentions on my part, so I doubt not of the most candid and free construction of my conduct on their part. Accept, my dear sir, of the best wishes of your ever affectionate, &c,

S. S.

The foregoing letter sent by Dr. Seabury to Dr. Myles Cooper was sent forward to Bishop Kilgour, *Primus* of the Church of Scotland, through the medium of the Reverend John Allan, one of two brothers in the ministry of the Scottish Church and who resided at Edinburgh. The letter was forwarded on September 14th. Under date of October 2nd, 1784, Bishop Kilgour addressed the Rev. John Allan as follows:

Rev. and Dear Sir,

I acknowledge by the first opportunity the receipt of yours of the 14th ult., inclosing Dr. Seabury's letter to Dr. Cooper, which I doubt not you have received in course.

Dr. Seabury's long silence, after it had been signified to him that the Bishops of this Church would comply with his proposals, made them all think that the affair was dropped, and that he did not choose to be connected with them; but his letter, and the manner in which he accounts for his conduct, give such satisfaction, that I have the pleasure to inform you that we are still willing to comply with his proposal; to clothe him with the Episcopal character, and thereby convey to the Western world the blessing of a free, valid, and purely ecclesiastical Episcopacy; not doubting that he will so agree with us in doctrine and discipline, as that he and the Church under his charge in Connecticut will hold communion with us and the Church here on catholic and primitive principles; and so that the members of both may with freedom communicate together in all the offices of religion.

We are concerned that he should have been so long in determining himself to make this application, and wish that in an affair of so much importance he had corresponded with one of our number. However, as he appears open

and candid on his part, he may believe the bishops will be no less so on their part, and will be glad how soon he can set out for the North.

As I cannot undertake a journey to Edinburgh, and it also would be too hard on Bishop Petrie in his very infirm state, the only proper place that remains for us to meet in is Aberdeen.

How soon Dr. Seabury fixes on the time for his setting out, or at least how soon he comes into Scotland, I hope he will address me; as the Bishops will settle their time of meeting for his consecration as soon thereafter as their circumstances and distance will permit. With a return of the Bishops' most respectful regards to Dr. Seabury, please advise him of all this. May God grant us a happy meeting and direct all to the honor and glory of His name and to the good of the Church. To His benediction I ever heartily commend you, and am, Rev. and dear sir, your affectionate brother and humble servant,

ROBERT KILGOUR.

Peterhead, 2nd October, 1784.

Twelve days later Seabury addressed the following reply to Bishop Kilgour:

London, October 14th, 1784.

Right Revd. Sir,

Three days ago I was made happy by the receipt of a letter from my friend in Edinburgh, inclosing one from you to the Rev^d Mr. John Allan, signifying the consent of the Bishops in Scotland to convey, through me, the blessing of a free, valid, and purely ecclesiastical Episcopacy to the Western world. My most hearty thanks are due to you, and to the other Bishops for the kind and Christian attention which they show to the suffering Church in North America in general, and that of Connecticut in particular, and for that ready and willing mind which they have manifested in this important affair. May God accept and reward them freely; and grant that the whole business may terminate in the glory of His name and the prosperity of His church. As far as I am concerned, or my influence shall extend, nothing shall be omitted to establish the most liberal intercourse and union between the Episcopal Church in Scotland and in Connecticut, so that the members of both may freely communicate together in all the offices of religion, on catholic and primitive principles.

Whatever appearances there may have been of inattention on my part, they will, I trust, when I shall have the happiness of a personal conference, be fully, and to a mind so candid and liberal as yours, satisfactorily explained.

I propose, through the favor of God's good providence, to be at Aberdeen by the 10th of November, and shall there

wait the convening of the Bishops who have so humanely taken this matter under their management. My best and most respectful regards attend them.

Commending myself to your prayers and good offices, I remain, Right Rev^d Sir, with the greatest respect and esteem, your most obedient and humble servant,

SAMUEL SEABURY.

In the *Jarvis Papers* are the following Letters written by Bishop Seabury after the consecration:

To the Rev^d Mr. Samuel Peters, No. 1 Charlotte Street,
Pimlico, Westminster.

Dundee, (Scotland)
Nov. 24, 1784.

My dear Sir,

I promised, when I took my leave of you, to write to you as soon as my business, at Aberdeen, was completed. And now it is more than a week since the event took place—viz Sunday Nov^r 14—& this is the first letter I have written to you. Indeed I have scarce had an hour that I could command, & now write intirely in the helter skelter way, to convince you that I do not forget you, & to desire that, if an opportunity presents before I get to London, you would write to our friends in Connecticut, remember me to them, & inform them of the successful issue of my northern negotiation, & that the first good ship will carry me to America, where I hope to find them all well and happy.

In the course of a fortnight I expect to be with you, in the mean time present my Comp^t to Miss Peters, Mm. Vardill (Nardill) & Mr. Elphinstone, and accept the best wishes of your very affectionate hum^l Serv^t

S. SEABURY.

I hope you carefully Measure up all that is said or done, that I may (have) the pleasure of your narrative & observations when I have the happiness of seeing you.

LETTER TO THE REVEREND JONATHAN BOUCHER*

Edinburgh, December 3, 1784.

My very Dear Sir,

I promised to write you as soon as a certain event took place, and I have not till now made good my promise. In truth, I have not had opportunity to collect my thoughts on

*Jonathan Boucher was born in England, March 12, 1738, and came to the American colonies at the age of sixteen. In 1761 he was nominated to the parish of Hanover, Virginia, and was ordained in London, March 26, 1762. After officiating in Hanover he removed to the parish of St. Mary's, Caroline County, Va. In 1768 he was appointed by Sir Robert Eden, royal governor of Maryland, as rector of St. Anne's, Annapolis. When the Revolution broke out he refused to omit the prayers for the King, saying in his farewell sermon, "As long as I live, yes, whilst I have my being, will I, with Zadok the Priest, with Nathan the Prophet, proclaim—'God save the King.'"

the subject on which I wished to write you; and even now, I expect every minute to be called upon, and probably this letter will go unfinished to you.

Dr. Chandler, I suppose, has informed you that my consecration took place on the 14th of November at Aberdeen. I found great candor, piety, and good sense among the Scotch Bishops and also among the clergy with whom I have conversed. The Bishops expect the clergy of Connecticut will form their own Liturgy and Offices; yet they hope the English Liturgy, which is the one they use, will be retained, except the Communion Office, and that they wish should give place to the one in Edward the Sixth's Prayer Book. This matter I have engaged to lay before the clergy of Connecticut, and they will be left to their own judgement which to prefer. Some of the congregations in Scotland use one and some the other Office; but they communicate with each other on every occasion that offers. On political subjects not a word was said. Indeed, their attachment to a particular family is wearing off, and I am persuaded a little good policy in England would have great effect here.

Upon the whole, I know nothing, and am conscious that I have done nothing that ought to interrupt my connection with the Church of England. The Church in Connecticut has only done her duty in endeavoring to obtain an Episcopacy for herself, and I have only done my duty in carrying her endeavors into execution. Political reasons prevented her application from being complied with in England. It was natural in the next instance to apply to Scotland, whose Episcopacy, though now under a cloud, is the very same, in every ecclesiastical sense, with the English.

His Grace of Canterbury apprehended that my obtaining consecration in Scotland would create jealousies and schisms in the Church, that the Moravian Bishops in America would be hereby induced to ordain clergymen, and that the Philadelphian clergy would be encouraged to carry into effect their plan of constituting a nominal Episcopacy by the joint suffrages of clergymen and laymen.

But when it is considered that the Moravian Bishops cannot ordain clergymen of our Church, unless requested so to do, and that when there shall be a Bishop in America, there will be no ground on which to make such a request; and that the Philadelphian plan was only proposed on the supposition of real and absolute necessity; which necessity cannot exist when there is a Bishop resident in America,

Returning to England he became vicar of Epsom, Surrey. In 1797 he published "A View of the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution, in Thirteen Discourses Preached in North America, between the years 1763 and 1775." This work he dedicated to General George Washington. The later years of his life were devoted to the preparation of a supplement to Johnson's Dictionary which he proposed to publish under the title: "Linguae Anglicanae Veteris Thesaurus." A small section was issued after his death. He died at Carlisle, England, on the 27th of April, 1804, in his sixty-seventh year. (Cf. Sprague. Annals of the American Pulpit, Vol. V., pp. 211-214.)

every apprehension of this kind must, I think, vanish and be no more. My own inclination is to cultivate as close a connection and union with the Church of England, as that Church and the political state of the two countries shall permit. I have grown up and lived hitherto under the influence of the veneration for and attachment to the Church of England, and in the service of the Society, and my hope is to promote the interest of that Church with greater effect than ever, and to establish it in the full enjoyment of its whole government and discipline.

And I think it highly probable that I may be of real service to this country, by promoting a connection with that country in religious matters without any breach of duty to the State in which I shall live. I cannot help considering it as an instance of bad policy, that my application for consecration was rejected in England; and I intend no offense when I say, that I think the policy would be still worse should the Society on this occasion discharge me from their service, which his Grace of York, in my last interview with him, said would certainly be the case. That indeed would make a schism between the two Churches, and put it out of my power to preserve that friendly intercourse and communion which I earnestly wish. It might also bring on explanations which would be disagreeable to me, and, I imagine, to the Society also. However should the Society itself be obliged to take such a step, though I shall be sorry for it, and hurt by it, I shall not be dejected. If my father and my mother forsake me, if the Governors of the Church and the Society discard me, I shall still be that humble pensioner of Divine Providence which I have been through my whole life. God, I trust, will take me up, continue his goodness to me, and bless my endeavors to serve the cause of his infant Church in Connecticut. I trust, sir, that it is not the loss of £50 per annum that I dread,—though that is an object of some importance to a man who has nothing,—but the consequences that must ensue, the total alienation of regard and affection.

You can make such use of this letter as you think proper. If I can command so much time, I will write to Dr. Morice* on the subject. If not, I will see him as soon as I return to London, which will be in ten days.†

Please present my regards to Mr. Stevens and all friends, and believe me to be, with the greatest esteem, your affectionate, humble servant,

S. S.

*Dr. Morice was the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

†Under date of April 25, 1785, the Society notified Bishop Seabury that he was no longer in its employ.

LETTER OF BISHOP SEABURY TO BISHOP SKINNER

No. 38 Norton Street London Dec. 27, 1784.

Right Reverend & my very dear Sir

Since my arrival in London I have been so taken up with matters of business which could not be delayed, and with the kind attentions of friends who ought not to be neglected, that though I have daily thought of you, & my obligations to write to you, yet till now I have not had it fairly in my power to do so. I was willing also to wait a little, and see whether any matter worth communicating to you might arise. But nothing of this kind has happened. The business of the Society's Missionaries in Connecticut did not come on at their meeting the 17th as I expected and wished, & whether it will be brought forward at their next meeting which will be on the 3rd Friday in January, I can get at present no information. Some think it will not come at all as a good many of the Clergy, & some dignified ones, commend the step that has been taken, as a necessary and proper measure. A friend told me that in a conversation with the Bishop of Lincoln, his Lordship justified the matter without reserve, & said he saw no good reason, either civil or ecclesiastical, why my application here was rejected. I believe I shall take my passage for New York on the ship *Triumph*, Cap'—Stout—both the names will I hope prove happily ominous,—who will sail at the latest the 1st of March. The Master is of my particular acquaintance, a friendly obliging man & a good Churchman & very anxious to have the *honor of carrying over the Bishop of all America*. I pray God he may have a good voyage, not only for his own, but also for the Bishop's sake, for whom you will suppose I have a great regard. I must again express my hope that your Sermon is printed, & that I shall not be disappointed in my expectation of taking out 100 copies with me to America. Please to draw upon me for the expense, and also for the expense of the Tracts, & any other publications you shall think proper to send me. I shall also be glad to have a variety in kind, if not a great number, of every publication; think nothing that relates to the cause of Episcopacy too insignificant, or that can assist in forming & establishing an infant Church, too trifling to send to me. Everything in that way will be of use to me, and will save me trouble. And I shall have enough to do with all the helps I can get. Besides to have the same instructions given in a different way, or the same Doctrines inculcated in a different mode, will not lay the foundation of, nor probably produce that intimate connection between the Scotch and Connecticut Churches, which I earnestly wish. Cataphetical Instructions particularly I should be glad to receive. For tho' these are too commonly looked upon as matters level to ordinary capacities to compile, yet I'm convinced they re-

quire, if not great capacity, yet great attention & judgment & a thorough knowledge of the principles, doctrine & discipline of the primitive Catholic Church. When you have opportunity, you will oblige me much by presenting my most affectionate regards to Bp. Kilgour & Bp. Petrie. While I live, I shall remember & love them. May our gracious God long preserve them & continue their lives so eminently useful to his poor persecuted Church! I regret that I did not make a point of seeing Bp. Prose (Rose), & waving all ceremony make myself acquainted with him. Will you, when you can, make a tender of my Regards to him & endeavor to convince him of the Sincerity & Uprightness of my Intentions! The good clergy who were with us also have a claim upon my affections & esteem. May they live long, useful to the Church, and happy in themselves. Dr. Murray did not keep his own secret, but the day after he had written his Letter, mentioned the matter to Dr. Smith's brother, & so the affair got vent. Some of my friends heard of it & were vexed. One of them, the Rev. Mr. Vardell, a native of New York, spoke to Dr. Murray about it. The Dr. owned the fact, blamed me for precipitance, & for not taking his advice, & making use of his influence. I was informed of this the very morning after I arrived here. He knows not that I know anything of the matter, nor shall he from me; tho' I have mentioned the matter to two gentlemen because it was really necessary they should know about it. How the Dr. came to act so out of Character I know not. Possibly an over anxious friendship for Dr. Smith has hurried him beyond his usual temper. He has however sunk himself in the estimation of some who used to think well of him & who can scarce be restrained from shewing their resentment, tho' they know not the particulars of the Drs. Letter. There has been a Convention at New York for ecclesiastical purposes, consisting of Clerical & Lay members. Dr. Smith was their president. After giving the names of those who were present he adds,—The Body now recommends to the Clergy and Congregations of their Communion in the States represented as above & propose to those of the other states not represented, that as soon as they shall have organized or associated themselves in the States to which they respectively belong, agreeable to such rules as they shall think proper & they unite in a general Ecclesiastical Constitution, on the following fundamental principles. I. That there shall be a General Convention of the Episcopal Church in the United States of America. II. That the Episcopal Church in each State send Deputies to the Convention consisting of Clergy & Laity. III. That associated congregations in two or more States may send Deputies jointly. IV. That the sd. Church shall maintain the Doctrines of the Gospel as now held by the Ch. of England & shall adhere to the Liturgy of the sd. Church as far as shall be consistent

with the American Revolution & the Constitutions of the respective States. V. That in every state where there shall be a Bishop duly consecrated & settled, he shall be considered a member of the Convention *ex officio*. VI. That the Clergy & Laity assembled in Convention shall deliberate in one body, but shall vote separately & the concurrence of both shall be necessary to give validity to every measure. VII. That the first meeting of the Convention shall be at *Philadelphia*, the Tuesday before the feast of St. Michael, to which it is hoped and earnestly desired, that the Episcopal Churches in the respective States will send their Clerical & Lay Deputies duly instructed & authorized to proceed on the necessary business herein proposed for their deliberation.

Signed by order of the Convention.

WM. SMITH, D. D.

The above is an exact copy, but I fear so crowded that you will scarcely find it legible. I cannot but consider this as a very lame, if not a mischievous business. It will bring the Clergy into abject bondage to the Laity & a Bp. it seems is to have no more power in the Convention than a Lay member. Doctrines, Disciplines, Liturgies, are all to be under lay control. I always feared Dr. Smith's meddling restless Disposition, & the lax principles of the Southern Clergy. Connecticut & Massachusetts have sent no lay brother, but a Clergyman from each, I presume only to see what was going on. I now more than ever lament the year I lost, negotiating in Eng. to no purpose. I might otherwise have been out last Spring & possibly have prevented mischief. But my paper is gone, & I can only beg Mrs. S. & your good family to accept my best wishes, etc.

SAML. SEABURY.

LETTER TO REVS. JEREMIAH LEAMING, ABRAHAM JARVIS
AND BELA HUBBARD

London, January 5, 1785.

My Very Dear and Worthy Friends,

It is with great pleasure that I now inform you, that my business here is perfectly completed, in the best way that I have been able to transact it. Your letter, and also a letter from Mr. Leaming, which accompanied the act of your Legislature, certified by Mr. Secretary Wylls, overtook me at Edinburgh, in my journey to the north, and not only gave me great satisfaction, but were of great service to me.

I met with a very kind reception from the Scotch Bishops, who having read and considered such papers as I laid before them, consisting of the copies of my original letters and testimonial, and of your subsequent letters, declared themselves perfectly satisfied, and said they conceived themselves called upon, in the course of God's Providence, with-

out regard to any human policy, to impart a pure, valid and free Episcopacy to the western world; and that they trusted that God, who had begun so good a work, would water the infant Church in Connecticut with his heavenly grace, and protect it by his good providence, and make it the glory and pattern of the pure Episcopal Church in the world; and that as it was freed from all incumbrance arising from connection with civil establishments and human policy, the future splendor of its primitive simplicity and Christian piety would appear to be eminently and entirely the work of God and not of man. On the 14th of Nov. my consecration took place, at Aberdeen (520 miles from hence). It was the most solemn day I ever passed; God grant I may never forget it!

I now only wait for a good ship in which to return. None will sail before the last of February or first of March. The ship *Triumph*, Capt. Stout, will be among the first. With this same Stout, commander, and in the *Triumph*, I expect to embark, and hope to be in New York some time in April; your prayers and good wishes will, I know, attend me.

A new scene will now, my dear Gentlemen, in all probability, open in America. Much do I depend on you and the other good clergymen in Connecticut, for advice and support, in an office which will otherwise prove too heavy for me. Their support, I assure myself I shall have; and I flatter myself that they will not doubt of my hearty desire, and earnest endeavor, to do everything in my power for the welfare of the Church, and promotion of religion and piety. You will be pleased to consider whether New London be the proper place for me to reside at; or whether some other place would do better. At New London, however, I suppose they make some dependence on me. This ought to be taken into the consideration. If I settle at New London, I must have an assistant. Look out, then, for some good clever young gentleman who will immediately go into deacon's orders, and who would be willing to be with me in that capacity. And indeed I must think it a matter of propriety, that as many worthy candidates be in readiness for orders as can be procured. Make the way, I beseech you, as plain and easy for me as you can.

Since my return from Scotland, I have seen none of the Bishops, but I have been informed that the step I have taken has displeased the two Archbishops, and it is now a matter of doubt whether I shall be continued on the Society's list. The day before I set out on my northern journey, I had an interview with each of the Archbishops, when my design was avowed; so that the measure was known, though it has made no noise.

My own poverty is one of the greatest discouragements I have. Two years' absence from my family, and expensive residence here, has more than expended all I had. But in so good a cause, and of such magnitude, something must be

risked by somebody. To my lot it has fallen; I have done it cheerfully, and despair not of a happy issue.

This, I believe, is the last time I shall write to you from this country. Will you then accept your Bishop's blessing, and hearty prayers for your happiness in this world and the next? May God bless also, and keep, all the good clergy of Connecticut!

I am, reverend and dear brethren, your affectionate brother, and very humble servant,

SAMUEL SEABURY.

Rev. Messrs. Leaming, Jarvis, and Hubbard.

Connecticut's reaction to the consecration is expressed in a letter written by the Rev. Dr. Abraham Jarvis, under date of April, 1785, and addressed to the Rev. Doctor Benjamin Moore of New York:

Middletown April 1785

Dear Sir

Last week I received a letter from Dr. Seabury dated London Jan^y 5th, in which he informs us, that he had completed the Business he went on. In the Letters I am to suppose, you frequently receive from England, it may be likely that you already have been informed of all, or more than I can say to you on the affair, you will accept however what is friendly intended, should it be superfluous.

British Ministers of State, it appears, would not suffer english Ministers in Church to do, what, We know, and every Mortal besides, that has any conscience and Candour, must be convinced was their duty.

Mr. Pitt had the Grace to declare to his Grace of Canterbury, that an Act should never pass the House of Commons to license the Bishops to consecrate a Bishop for any of the American States. As a christian Bishop and the Head of the english Church in Spirituals, what must have been his Feelings on that Occasion!

The die being cast, as to the Bishops in England, our persevering Doct^r had then to turn and look to Scotland. The scotch Bishops received him cordially, and, satisfied with his credentials, they spoke like Men of God and the Church; considered it as a call of God in the course of his providence upon them to transmit a pure, valid and free Episcopate to the western World; and seemed to predict a sample of pure primitive Antiquity to the connecticut Church. God grant that it may so prove, at least in its platform: Dr. Seabury's Consecration took place at Aberdeen on the 14th of November; and, with the leave of providence, you may expect his arrival at N. York in the course of this Month.

Probably the clergy of Connecticut will meet him in Convention very soon after his arrival among us. You will converse with him on the general and interesting concerns

of the Church: let him bring your resolve to be with us, and it shall be my part to inform you when and where we will convene. We shall then be formed to act upon the Affairs and * * * of the Church; and as there have been some things published as agreed upon to the Basis of future proceedings in setting not only the external policy & Government of the Church, but even the more vital part; her Worship and Devotions: for by that plan Laymen are to be compilers of Liturgy, ascertain what the Clergy shall preach; form and enact Canons, to bind the clergy, not only in regard to the Laity, but also in regard to themselves, what powers the Bishop shall have, and how he shall exercise an oversight and Government over the clergy; or rather that he shall do neither in this Situation, is it not at some hazard whether we shall have a pure episcopal Church? The earliest care in this matter will probably be the most effectual. Whatever is the _____ of the priesthood in the Church of Christ, is it not the Duty of the same to watch over it, with a godly Jealousy, to keep that which is committed to their Trust? It is unnecessary to enlarge on the Subject, to you, but as we expect now, soon to have our Church in Connecticut complete in her Members, permit me to request you, and all who are like-minded, to be with us, as one in our common concern. If Brother Beach* is at New York please to give him my compliments and desire him to remember whence he is, that he is Bone of our Bone & Flesh of our Flesh, and to show himself such, by attending at the time and place of our assembling together.

Such is the story of the election and consecration of the first Bishop of the American Church.

**The Rev. Dr. Abraham Beach of New Brunswick, N. J., who entered the ministry from Connecticut.*

THE
NATURE AND EXTENT
OF THE
APOSTOLICAL COMMISSION.

A
S E R M O N,

Preached at the
CONSECRATION
Of the Right Reverend
DR SAMUEL SEABURY,
B I S H O P
OF THE
EPISCOPAL CHURCH
In *CONNECTICUT*.

B Y A
BISHOP OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH
IN
SCOTLAND.

A B E R D E E N :
Printed by J. CHALMERS & Co.
M,DCC,LXXXV.

S. MATTH. XXVIII. 18, 19, 20.

AND JESUS CAME AND SPAKE UNTO THEM, SAYING, ALL POWER IS GIVEN UNTO ME IN HEAVEN AND IN EARTH: GO YE THEREFORE AND TEACH ALL NATIONS, BAPTIZING THEM IN THE NAME OF THE FATHER, AND OF THE SON, AND OF THE HOLY GHOST: TEACHING THEM TO OBSERVE ALL THINGS WHATSOEVER I HAVE COMMANDED YOU; AND LO, I AM WITH YOU ALWAYS, EVEN UNTO THE END OF THE WORLD.

WHEN the blessed Author of these words, the beloved Son of God, appeared in the world, to take away the sin of it, and reconcile it to his offended Father, we are assured, to our unspeakable comfort and satisfaction, that by the sacrifice of himself once offered, he purchased pardon, grace, and eternal salvation, for all mankind in general. But as the application of these inestimable benefits, required a humble and obedient disposition in those who were to be partakers of them, it pleased the divine Administrator, to appoint certain means for the conveyance of them, to the diligent and conscientious use of which, he has, for a trial of our faith and humility, annexed the blessings of our redemption. The dispensation of these means is committed to certain authorized members of that spiritual society, of which he is the glorious HEAD, and which he established on earth for that purpose, and the scripture signifies with the title of the Church of God, and which he hath purchased with *his own blood*.^a It was with a view to this glorious purchase, that the redeeming God vouchsafed to clothe himself with our nature, and condescended to dwell among men. It was to make peace between heaven and earth, and to publish the glad tidings of salvation to a wretched world.

But though this was the sole design of his miraculous incarnation, yet he does not seem to have entered formally upon it, till he was solemnly called and commissioned thereto, by an audible voice from heaven. So says S. Paul, "Christ glorified not himself to become an high-priest, but he that said unto him, Thou art my Son, to-day have I begotten thee".^b In which words, the apostle plainly alludes to what happened at the baptism of Jesus, when the heavens were opened upon him, and "the spirit of God, descending like a dove, lighted upon him, and lo, a voice from heaven saying, This is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased."^c This was a solemn inauguration to his office, and, for the satisfaction of his followers, exhibited in an outward

NOTE.—We have omitted a number of notes, mostly exegetical, appended to the sermon when printed, which were not a part of it as delivered.—EDITOR.

^a Acts xx. 28.

^b Heb. v. 5.

^c S. Matth. iii. 17.

and visible manner. In consequence of which, as we are immediately after informed, he began to lay the foundation of his church, according to the plan of the New Testament, by preaching the gospel, and inviting all the Jews to become followers of him, and members of that blessed society he was now about to establish. And when the number of his followers began to increase, and the blessed work to grow upon his hands, he thought proper to ordain twelve, as the evangelist tells us, that they should be with him, and that he might send them forth to preach, and to perform such miraculous cures in his name, as would tend to establish the truth of his doctrine. These he distinguished by the peculiar title of *Apostles*, as being the first persons he had sent with power to act in his name, and to carry on the good work he had so happily begun. Afterwards, when the harvest became too great for so few labourers as these twelve, our Lord was pleased to appoint seventy more, who though of an order inferior to the apostles, were yet empowered to preach the gospel, and to work miracles for the confirmation of their doctrine.

Thus early do we observe a subordination among the ministers of Christ, and a striking resemblance between the Jewish church and the Christian, with respect to their foundation, and the form of government established in them. It is true, that all this time, while Christ was gathering and collecting his church in his own person, it seems to have been wholly confined to the Jewish nation. He plainly declared that he was not sent, "but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." Upon this account, he is called by S. Paul, "a minister of the circumcision," and in many places of the gospel, he is stiled, "the King of the Jews." But as at his death, the distinction between Jew and Gentile was taken away, so by his resurrection, the bounds of his church, or kingdom, were most amply and gloriously enlarged. On this occasion, therefore, we find him enlarging the powers of his apostles, and granting them a full and extensive commission, in these comprehensive words, "As my Father has sent me, even so send I you."^d Therefore by assuring them, that as the Father had empowered him to collect a church, and ordain ministers in it, so he devolved this power upon them. And as before they had been only his personal attendants, waiting his orders from his own mouth, they were now to stand in his stead; to be, as it were, officers in trust, and to govern his church in his absence, as himself had done, whilst he lived among them. During his personal abode with them, they were sent out now and then to baptize and preach the gospel; but by this last and most important mission, when they were to supply the place of their absent master, they were empowered to do as he had done; that is, to communicate to others that Episcopal authority, which themselves had received from the chief Bishop; that so there might be a continual uninterrupted succession of ecclesiastical governors to the end of time. Accordingly at the granting of this commission, as another evangelist records it, their Master gave them a solemn promise of his special blessing, protection, and assistance, for the due discharge and execution of it to all ages. For so we read in the words of my text, that "Jesus came and spake unto them saying, All power is given unto me

in heaven and in the earth"; and then he adds, in consequence of this universal sovereignty, with which as mediator he was now invested, "Go ye therefore and teach, or *make disciples to me of* all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and lo I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."

From this account of the powerful and extensive commission, given in these words, we may justly look upon it as the fundamental charter of the christian church, and therefore I have made choice of it as a subject very suitable to the present solemn and happy occasion: in honour of which, we cannot be better employed, than in considering the nature of those powers and privileges which were originally conferred by the commission in my text, and which from the gracious promise there made, we have ground to hope will be continued in the church, even unto the end of the world.

Such is the interesting subject presented to our notice in the passage of scripture before us: and That I may be able to do as much justice to it, as the limits of a short discourse will allow, I must endeavour to confine myself to that divine account of pure ecclesiastical authority, which is here so narrated. According to this rule, I shall be obliged to consider the christian church in the same simple light, in which we at present view that part of it, whereof we are members, as a society entirely distinct by itself, without being incorporated into, or any way defended by the state; but as it stood for the first three hundred years after Christ, unprotected, and therefore uncorrupted, by any legal establishment. Upon that spiritual and independent footing we shall behold it in its native purity, before it meddled with "the things of Cæsar," or gave Cæsar a sort of right to meddle with "the things of God." Both these are equally dangerous deviations from the primitive plan of this holy society, and both have been too often adopted, to the manifest prejudice of its real interests. For while some have pretended to exempt all ecclesiastics from every form of civil jurisdiction, attempting to raise the governours of the church to a supremacy even in temporal matters over civil magistrates; yea, and have taken upon them, on some occasions, by virtue of their spiritual powers, to absolve subjects from their allegiance to their lawful princes; others again have run into a quite contrary error, and by making the exercise of all spiritual authority, to depend entirely on the will and pleasure of temporal governors, have opened a door to endless schisms and divisions, and laid the office of the priesthood open to every invader, who chuses to comply with the terms imposed by encroaching statesmen.

Such are the unhappy consequences of giving way to the mistaken opinions of mankind, with regard to the important commission now under our consideration. Because we are assured, in the words of my text, that *all* power in heaven and in earth was given to Christ as our mediator, and are told in another place, that as the Father sent him, so he sent his apostles, therefore some of their aspiring successors, full of a vain and worldly ambition, have fondly imagined, that they ought to be exempted from the jurisdiction, and superior

to the controul of all earthly powers; forgetting, it seems, that their great Lord and Master, though he was the supreme head and sovereign of the church, yet never denied the authority of the state in all temporal matters, but lived in constant subjection to the civil powers, and gave tribute to whom tribute was due, custom to whom custom, honour to whom honour. The Jews, indeed, thought proper, in the height of their malice, to accuse him of making himself a king, and thereby setting himself up as an enemy to Cæsar. But Christ himself, who best understood the nature of his own kingdom, would by no means admit the truth of this accusation; and to shew the injustice of it, referred to those frequent directions he had given his followers, not to rise up against their governors, but to pay them all due deference and obedience. We do not read that he ever himself exercised one single act of civil jurisdiction. When one desired justice of him against his brother, his answer was, "Who made me a judge or divider among you?" And when Pilate questioned him strictly, whether he was really the King of the Jews or not, he openly declared himself to be a king indeed, but one very different from what his enemies thought he pretended to be. "My kingdom," says he, "is not of this world; if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight for me, that I should not be delivered to the Jews; but now is my kingdom not from hence." His kingdom came from heaven at first, and was to be established and completed in heaven at last. Therefore the power and authority conveyed by him to his apostles, was of quite a different nature from those powers which belong to and are claimed by earthly governors. And were this difference duly attended to, there would not be the least clashing or interference between the respective rights of church and state. For as the church would pretend no claim to those emoluments and temporal dignities, which have been foolishly lavished upon it; much less set up its governors as a sort of petty sovereigns, to interfere with and dictate to the sovereigns of this world: So neither would the state encroach upon the privileges of the church, nor assume the right to take away or restrain the exercise of those spiritual powers, which Christ its divine head so evidently and amply bestowed upon it. For surely the commission he gave his apostles is as plain and full as words can make it: and they seem perfectly to have understood the divine virtue and efficacy of it, and the obligations they were under to act up to it, in spite of all opposition: for when two of them were severely threatened by the Jewish Sanhedrim, and strictly commanded not "to speak at all, nor teach in the name of Jesus," their answer was sensible and spirited, and plainly implied that they had a commission from God to preach the gospel, which must be executed at the utmost peril of their souls and which no human power could possibly set aside; for so they tell their judges, "Whether it be right in the sight of God, to hearken unto you, more than unto God, judge ye."^e Hence it is evident that the church as constituted by Christ, must be allowed to be independent on the state or these apostles must be considered as guilty of disobedience and sedition. And the succeeding bishops, for the first three hundred years after Christ, must lie under the same charge:

for they held religious assemblies, governed their clergy and people, and executed all other parts of their sacred function, not only without leave from the state, but very often in direct opposition to it.

To lessen the force of this argument, I know, it is objected, that during the first three centuries, the princes of this world were all unconverted heathens, and so had no right to expect any compliances from the christians: whereas their coming over to the faith altered the case, and gave them a better title to interfere in the concerns of the church. Yet I can see no good reason for this inference, nor any just ground for supposing, that the civil powers, by receiving baptism, which is a gift *from* the church, should acquire any new branch of government, or controul *over* it, which they had not before. By being admitted to the privileges of communion in the church, it might be thought they were obliged in gratitude to protect and cherish it; but surely no argument can be fairly drawn from this, to justify any infringement of its spiritual powers, or any interference with the quiet and peaceable exercise of them. From what has been already said on the nature of those powers which Christ left with his church, I think it is sufficiently evident that there is a manifest distinction established by our holy religion, between the spiritual kingdom of our Redeemer, and the temporal sovereignties of this world: a distinction which will appear in a still clearer light, if we consider, that the rewards and punishments, whereby the church of Christ enforces its laws, are of a spiritual nature, and have respect chiefly to a future and eternal state: they are such as in this life can only influence men by means of their faith: whereas those rewards and punishments which proceed from the civil power, if they do not affect us in this life, they cannot affect us at all. Nay, the very rights and privileges to which we are entitled as members of these different societies, are altogether distinct from one another. Our civil rights and liberties vary, according to our various situations in life: but the privileges of christians are alike in all ranks and conditions. So says S. Paul, "By one spirit we are all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free."^f All are one and the same in Christ Jesus. For certain wise reasons of providence, the church was, for a while, confined to Judæa, and the chosen people of that land were thereby separated and distinguished from all other nations. But in the fulness of time, this wall of partition was broken down: the glad tidings of salvation were preached to all people, and the church, or society of the faithful, was thereby enlarged and made capable of receiving all that would come into it. God had promised his Son "the heathen for his inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for his possession."^g Accordingly our blessed Saviour gave a large and unlimited commission to his apostles, "*to preach the gospel to every creature,*" as S. Mark has it, or as S. Matthew expresses it in the text, "*to teach all nations,* baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost"; which part of the apostolical commission, is the next thing that falls under our consideration.

I have already observed, that the proper meaning of this passage

^f I Cor. xii. 13.

^g Psal. ii. 8.

is, *to make all nations disciples to Christ by baptizing them*, to initiate them in his faith, and enter them into union with him, by means of that sacred institution, which he had appointed for that purpose, an institution to be duly and regularly administered in the name of the one true God, as revealed under the gospel, by the gracious titles of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the three adorable witnesses who "bear record in heaven" to the mysterious scheme of man's salvation. Such was the method the divine wisdom was pleased to adopt, for putting mankind in the way of obtaining the blessings of this salvation. It was not enough that they should be properly taught and instructed in the great doctrines of the gospel; for that knowledge they might have acquired from teachers, not so solemnly authorized, as those who received the commission in my text. But the truth is, the christian church is not like a sect of philosophers, distinguished only by their adherence to some particular system, or their belief of some particular system, or their belief of some useful and excellent truths, without any other bond of union, or form of admission to the participation of certain privileges. Though indeed this is a doctrine very much espoused, especially by those, whose loose incoherent notions of things, will not allow them to associate with any body of christians, and who yet pretend to have a sense of their duty to God, and even a respect for the christian religion, although they be in communion with no part of Christ's church. Had the first converts to our religion been of this opinion, they would not have shewn so much zeal for maintaining an outward and visible communion with Christ; they would not have suffered so much for "continuing steadfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers."^h But they knew well that the benefits of the gospel, or, which is the same, the privileges of the church belonged to them, not in their personal capacities, but as they were members of the one body of Christ. And therefore, they expected all spiritual blessings in common with their brethren, and by virtue of Christ's public institutions, which they justly considered as the means of uniting them to Christ under the character of their Head, and of deriving food and nourishment from him as their Shepherd: and indeed the reason of the thing is very plain and obvious. For unless we adhere to Christ's flock, how can we expect any benefit from the care and protection of the Shepherd? Unless we shew ourselves members of his church, by joining with it in all the bonds of christian communion, how shall we claim a share in any of the privileges that belong to it? This is plainly the doctrine of the scriptures, and what must be inferred from the nature and design of the commission now before us. So that to say, as some do, that a man may repent of his sins and keep God's commandments and so be a good man and in favour with his Maker, without being admitted into the church of his Redeemer, implies a manifest contradiction; since this is one of the most plain and positive commands of God, that men should be baptized as well as repent, and so be admitted into union with Him, in whom *alone* God is *well pleased*, and on account of whom alone, and because of our relation to that beloved person, God has promised to

^h Acts ii. 42.

accept our imperfect services. That this is a just representation of the value of repentance, and of the condition in which we stand with respect to God, is evident, among many other proofs of it, that might be mentioned, from the direction given by S. Peter, to those who were so strangely moved by his powerful sermon.ⁱ For when they asked of the apostles, *Men and brethren, what shall we do?* His answer was, "repent and be baptized every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins." The apostle knew that repentance alone was not sufficient to procure this necessary remission, or reconcile sinful man to an offended Deity. He knew that repentance, in itself, can never be either a meritorious or an efficient cause of pardon and acceptance with God. In no sense, indeed, can it be said to be a cause, but as it concurs in removing sin, which is always an impediment in the way of the divine mercy: But then the merit, the virtue and efficiency, is all *in the name of Jesus of Nazareth*. And as all our virtue, all our praise is from him, so there are particular institutions appointed for the conveyance of his grace and goodness to us. Among these, the words of my text, as well as the apostolic direction just now mentioned, point out the sacrament of baptism as the first; and which must be duly received, in order to prepare us for the other ordinances of the gospel. "*Arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins,*"^j the command of Ananias to repenting Saul plainly shews, that the christian baptism is a cleansing rite, and conveys some necessary purification to the receiver. And those who are not pleased with so easy a way of acquiring this benefit, and on that account despise our Saviour's institution, would do well to attend to what the sacred history relates of the Syrian leper, who came to the prophet of Israel, expecting to be cured in a pompous, or in what some people would call, a rational manner, but received only this simple message from the prophet's servant, "*Go and wash in Jordan seven times, and thou shalt be clean.*" This was a blessing, which, it seems, the *great man* was not to expect in his own way, or from the unsanctified waters of Abana and Pharpar: He must receive it from the waters of Jordan, and by the ceremony of dipping seven times, or be content to remain a leper: And if he will not submit to be cleansed in the way that the gospel prescribes, the corruption of our nature will remain, and we must die in our sins. To wash in cold water seemed no doubt, an improper prescription for the leprosy, and to do it just seven times, could not well be accounted for on rational principles. Yet the power of a divinely commissioned prophet gave success to both, and a warning to the haughty spirit of man, to trust the great Physician of our souls with the cure of them; since however simple, or mean, his prescriptions may seem in our eyes, if submitted to in faith and humility, they will never fail to produce the designed effect. God has chosen such means of conveying his grace and favour to us, as are least apt to fill us with high notions of our own merit and ability: For it is certain, the divine communications will never flow in any channel, which human pride has made impure.

We must not then think to act in religious matters, according to our own caprice or fancy, nor do, each of us, what shall seem good

ⁱ Acts ii. 14 &c.

^j Acts xxii. 16.

in our own eyes: but "whatsoever thing the Lord has commanded us, that we must observe to do; we must neither add thereto, nor diminish from it." For to this purpose, the divine commission in my text authorized the apostles, not only to baptize all nations, and so unite them to Christ, as members of his body, but to "teach them also to observe all things whatsoever he had commanded them," whatsoever he had given in charge to his apostles, to be prescribed to, and required of, all his followers. Now this is a part of the apostolical commission so generally acknowledged, and for the most part, so well understood, as necessary both to the propagation and support of the christian religion, that I have little occasion to enlarge much upon it. One thing, however, I cannot help remarking, as I think it deserves notice, that in the scheme of christian practice here laid down for the observance of all nations, our Lord's commands are all comprehended under one denomination, and no distinction made between what are called moral and positive duties. We are not told, that some things are good because commanded, and others commanded because good. We are not referred, for the regulation of our conduct, to the standard of moral rectitude, and the eternal fitness of things. Our heavenly Teacher made no use of these idle distinctions, the foolish conceits of a vain philosophy, which affects to teach us "after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ." It is the law of the gospel which points out to christians what is really and truly good: and unless we are careful to observe what our great Lawgiver has there commanded, and observe it because he has commanded it, and from a principle of love and obedience to him he has assured us, we have no title to call him Lord, Lord: We have no right to expect his favour, or depend on his protection, unless we "do the things which he commands us." It is his approbation alone on which we must rely, as that which stamps all their value on our imperfect services. And this approbation is to be discovered and applied by those significations of his will, which he has revealed and made known for that purpose: revealed them to his apostles, and made them known to his church, by their inspired writings, from generation to generation.

We have now taken a short view of that divine scheme of salvation, provided for all nations by him, who, to that end, and in the character of Mediator, had received all power in heaven and in earth. We have considered, as far as the present occasion will admit, the nature and design of those powers and privileges, which were originally conferred by the commission in my text, and which, from the gracious promise made in the conclusion of it, we have ground to hope, will be continued in the church, *even unto the end of the world*. And indeed, this is no more than what was necessary for encouraging the apostles to engage in, and go through with such an important and arduous undertaking. For, as we are informed that Moses, when commissioned by Jehovah to go and bring the children of Israel out of Egypt, made this reply, in diffidence of his own ability for such an enterprize, "Who am I, that I should go to Pharaoh, and that I should bring forth the children of Israel out of Egypt?"^k So when our Lord commanded, his apostles to go and bring all nations out of their slavish idolatry,

^k *Exodus iii. 11.*

into the profession of that religion which alone could make them free, they would, no doubt, be saying within themselves, "Who are we, a company of poor, weak, illiterate men, that we should be sent to proselyte all nations, to bring them off from their former prejudices, and make them accept the terms of salvation offered by a crucified Redeemer?" This, we may suppose, our Lord foresaw; and therefore, as the God of Israel answered Moses, saying, "Certainly I will be with thee," so does our Saviour here encourage his apostles, with a "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world." Indeed some are of opinion, that there is a farther resemblance between these two cases, and that the author of the gracious promise in my text, was not only Jesus of Nazareth, who had done many wonderful works, had made the blind to see, the lame to walk, the dead to rise, and himself to be raised from a guarded sepulchre; but was also, by the peculiar construction of this promise, declared to be, even no less a Being, than the adorable *I am*, the same *Jehovah* who appeared to Moses, for the deliverance of his people out of Egypt, and now commissioned the apostles for the forming his church out of "all nations."

We need not wonder then that such a gracious promise, from one so infinitely powerful, and able to perform it, encouraged the apostles to undertake, and supported them in the discharge of, the important trust assigned to them. They could not but perceive, to their unspeakable satisfaction, that they were sent forth to convert the world, by the same Almighty, omnipresent Being, who had been so long the *Worship of Israel*, and had wrought such wonders for that chosen people, and now promised to be with them his apostles, as the God and Guardian of the christian church, even to the end of the world. "Go, teach all nations," says he, *and lo, I am with you; With you* my chosen servants, to whom I have now delegated proper powers, for executing the commission I have given you: *Behold*, take special notice of what I say, I am with you always, at all times, and upon all occasions, when you are employed in the discharge of your sacred office, I am with you in the execution of it, and that too, to the very end of the world, so long as my church shall last, which will be even to the dissolution of all things.

Nothing is more evident, than that our Saviour here supposes, there were to be apostles upon earth to the end of the world, otherwise he could not possibly make good this gracious promise to them. But it is likewise as certain, that the persons to whom our Saviour spoke these words, were not to continue in this world, beyond the ordinary course of nature; nay, it is a fact, that most of them were hurried out of it, rather in an untimely way. So that this remarkable promise must have been made to the apostles, not as private persons, or as our Lord's immediate attendants, but as *apostles*, persons sent to convert and baptize the nations, and whose office was, therefore, to continue, as long as there should be nations upon earth, to partake of the benefits of it. For had the promise been purely personal, and to have expired with the apostles, as some have foolishly pretended, it would have run in these words, "I will be with you all *your days*," and not *always*, especially since the following words, "*to the end of the world*," are the very same in the original, with what S. Matthew uses

to signify the general judgment, or consummation of all things.¹ But the truth is, and every discerning person must at first sight perceive it, that this promise, so essential to the support, nay, to the very being of the christian church, is not made so much to the persons of the apostles, as to the apostolical office, or at least to their persons only, as vested with that office, and consequently to all persons, to the end of the world, who should ever have that office conferred upon them. It will not be denied, that Matthias had the benefit of this promise, though he was not yet numbered with the apostles, when it was delivered: nor will Barnabas and Paul, I presume, be excluded from it. And if these were entitled to the support of it, not by their being personally present at the time it was made, but by virtue of their apostolical powers, the same privilege must be extended to all, who shall ever be invested with those powers, or succeed to the office of the apostles: an office which, it is plain, from the very nature and design of it, as described in the words of my text, must be continued while the world lasts, or while there are people upon earth to be baptized and brought to Christ, and taught to observe whatsoever he has commanded. Having now discovered how the apostles were to continue in the church to the end of the world, we shall be at no loss to understand, in what sense our Lord here promises to be always with them. To find out this, we need not have recourse to the wild and extravagant opinion of those, who assert the human nature of Christ to be every where present: neither is it sufficient to observe, that he is present with them as God, for so he is in all places, and with all creatures, as the support of their existence. Whereas our Saviour here promises to be with his apostles in a peculiar sense, in a manner particularly appropriated to them as apostles. And that we might not be mistaken in a matter of such consequence, he has elsewhere sufficiently explained his meaning, and shewn how the promise in my text is to be understood. For as he here assures his apostles, *he* will be with them to the end of the world, so he tells them in another place that his *Holy Spirit* shall be always with them. "I will pray the Father," says he, "and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever; even the Spirit of Truth":^m Which is the same in effect with himself being always with them, since the Spirit of Truth is likewise the Spirit of Christ; and wheresoever the Spirit is, there is Christ also. In a word, our Saviour here promises his apostles, that he will be always with them to the end of the world, by his Holy Spirit accompanying and assisting them in the discharge of their sacred office, and particularly in handing down the commission they had received, by regular succession, to the end of time. The manner in which this has been always conveyed, plainly shews the part which the Holy Spirit is graciously pleased to take in it. When our blessed Lord himself was glorified to be an High Priest, it was by the visible descent of the Holy Ghost: and when after his resurrection, he appointed his apostles to the work of the ministry, "he breathed on them, and said, Receive ye the Holy Ghost," declaring at the same time, "As my Father hath sent me, even so sent I you." Accordingly

¹ *S. Matt. xiii. 39, 40, 49.*

^m *S. John xiv. 16.*

the apostles being thus sent and ordained by our Lord, took special care to transfer the same Spirit to others, which they had received from him. Only they did not pretend to do it precisely after the same manner as Christ had done, by the act of breathing. For that was peculiar to Christ himself, from whom the Spirit *proceedeth*, and having a resemblance to what was done at the creation, when God "breathed into man the breath of life," was justly considered as a distinguishing symbol of divine power. The apostles therefore made use of another antient and venerable mode of conveying the Spirit, even the laying on of hands: and wherever we read of their ordaining any, we find they always did it after this expressive and significant manner: and that too, whether they ordained them into their whole office, or into any part of it. For nothing is more certain, than that there always has been a subordination in the ministry, and these various degrees of office-bearers in the church, which have wisely continued to this day, for governing, feeding, and watching over the flock of Christ. And though there be now no workers of miracles, no inspired speakers with tongues, nor interpreters, nor discerners of spirits; yet there are still, and 'tis to be hoped will be to the world's end, men who have succeeded to the spiritual powers of the apostles, in governing and directing the church under Christ, its supreme Head and Governor, and others who, in due subordination to these, discharge the several offices assigned to them, for the edifying of the body of Christ. And this plan of spiritual government and instruction being instituted by Christ himself, and carefully transmitted by his apostles to the converted nations, how can it now be set aside or changed by any of these nations, without involving them in the guilt of infringing that divine authority, by which it was at first established? It is well known, that no society can subsist, if those who preside in it, have no more power or authority committed to them than the rest have. And as the church of Christ is a regular, well formed society, it necessarily follows that the governors of it must have their distinct powers, and can claim the exercise of them, to the ends and purposes for which they received them. They must not allow such sacred powers to lie dormant in their hands, when the necessities of the church require the exertion of them. As long as there are nations to be instructed in the principles of the gospel, or a church to be formed in any part of the inhabited world, the successors of the apostles are obliged, by the commission they hold, to contribute as far as they can, or may be required of them, to the propagation of these principles, and the formation of every church, upon the most pure and primitive model. No fear of worldly censure ought to keep them back from so good a work: no connection with any state, nor dependence on any government whatever, should tie up their hands from communicating the blessings of that kingdom, which "is not of this world," and diffusing the means of salvation, by a valid and regular ministry, wherever they may be wanted. When our Lord first sent out his apostles, to announce the kingdom of heaven being then at hand, by works of mercy and charity, he added this generous command, "Freely ye have received, freely give."ⁿ The successors of these apostles ought all to remember this,

and "go and do likewise." Whatever be the power and authority their heavenly Master has committed to them, it is no more than ministerial: they act only under him as his ministers and stewards, and must one day give an account to him of all their actions. The power they have, in all the various branches of it, is still to be considered as his power in their hands: they derive it all from him, who is continually present with them in the exercise of it. And therefore, as they themselves would need to have a care how they exercise this power, or neglect the proper and necessary exercise of it: so when they are thus careful to do their duty, and have nothing else in view by it, but the glory of God, and the good of his church, they may humbly hope, that others will take care also not to misrepresent their intentions, nor despise their endeavours in so good a cause: remembering what our great Master said to his commissioned servants, "He that despiseth you despiseth me, and he that despiseth me despiseth him that sent me."^o Our Saviour assured his apostles, that "as the Father had sent him, so sent he them," with power to continue this mission, and to make thereby a standing provision, for communicating the grace and influence of his gospel to all nations.

This provision therefore, in accomplishment of the prophetic promise in my text, he is pleased to bless and sanctify with his word and Holy Spirit, and thereby to make it effectual to all the purposes of salvation. Under the ministry even of the apostles themselves, it was this divine promise which warranted their office, and ratified their administrations: it was this blessing of God's Holy Spirit, which gave success to their labours, and made their preaching of the gospel so prevalent on those that heard it. Though "Paul himself planted, and Apollos watered, yet it was God only that gave the increase." And the case is the same in every age and situation of the church. The labourers may and ought to do their duty, as becometh their several stations; but the fruitfulness of the vineyard depends altogether on the "continual dew of God's blessing." Without the "healthful Spirit of his grace sent down," as we are taught to pray, "on our Bishops and Pastors, and on all congregations committed to their charge," the ordinances we administer would be but dead and empty signs, and the people under our care, would no longer be *living* members of Christ's mystical body. Whereas he being always present, according to his promise, by his Holy Spirit, at the administration of the several offices he has ordained in his church, they are thereby sanctified, and made effectual to all the purposes of christian edification. The members of Christ's church are thereby built up in their most holy faith, and being thus reared on the foundation of apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone, they are compared to a "building fitly framed together, growing up to a holy temple in the Lord."^p Attempts have been made in all ages of the church to sap the foundation of this spiritual building, and heresies, we are told, must be, that they who are approved may be made manifest."^q The cause of pure uncorrupted truth, is not always found con-

^o *S. Luke x. 16.*

^p *Eph. ii. 21.*

^q *I Cor. xi. 19.*

sistent with the sordid views of worldly-minded men. And this is the reason, why the christian faith has frequently been modelled according to the fashion of the times. Every new sect must have a creed of their own making; and there is no doctrine or mode of worship, however contrary to antient faith, or primitive practice, but the men of this world, if it answer their ends, will be tampering with texts of scripture to support it. But the heathen may rage, and the enemies of Christ imagine a vain thing: yet "the foundation of God standeth sure." And though many, and once famous, churches, have long since been buried in the darkness of error and superstition, yet we may assure ourselves, Christ will not suffer his truth to fail, but will preserve it among some or other of the converted nations, and at last present to himself a glorious church, not "having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing."

These few observations may serve to give some general notion of the way and manner in which Christ has been, and is, and ever will be, present with church, according to his gracious promise in these words, "Lo I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." And if he is so mercifully condescending, as thus to countenance and support the successors of his apostles, to sanctify their administrations, and grant success to their labours: If he has entailed so great salvation upon his church, and made it the earthly Zion, in which he delights to dwell: then how ill does it become men to make light of all this mercy, to vilify his divine appointment, and depreciate those means of salvation, which he has been graciously pleased to put into our hands? Will any pretended regard to the rules of what is vainly called *morality* excuse such a professed contempt of plain and positive institutions, delivered by the Son of God, by him who has "all power in heaven and in earth," and delivered too as the only means of restoration and happiness to fallen man? What monstrous ingratitude, as well as base presumption must it be, that can look down with scorn on this scheme of mercy, as an arbitrary unmeaning appointment, or regard the observance of its rules as a matter of indifference? Indeed! Has the great God of Israel, who once wrought such wonders for his chosen people; the adorable *I am*, the Almighty Jehovah; has he founded a church in his own blood, promised his presence and protection to it, established the rules of faith and obedience in it, adorned it with the means of grace, and appointed certain officers to be the regular administrators of them? And is it yet a matter of indifference, whether we shew any regard to this church, or any just sense of a divine presence in it; whether we live up to these rules, or make use of these means, or apply regularly to these ministers for the benefit of them? If all these things are of no moment, and are left at our liberty as to the observance of them: then, what could be the meaning or design of those passages of the apostolic writings, which exhort us "to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints,"^r and "to mark them which cause divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which we have learned, and avoid them."^s Offences against the faith, and divisions or separations from the unity, of the church, were not, it

^r *S. Jude 3.*

^s *Rom. xvi. 17.*

seems, in the eyes of the apostles, such light things as they now appear to be with many who call themselves christians. And the reason is, the apostles looked directly to their Master's kingdom, without casting a side-glance upon the present world. When they went forth to convert and instruct the nations, they kept close to the commission they had received, and with divine ardour and resolution, pressed the necessity of coming to Christ in the way of his own appointment, since the dutiful observance of what the gospel commands, can only proceed from the grace which it inspires. Such was the doctrine of these primitive preachers; such the zeal and fervency with which their "sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world." Whereas nothing is to be seen now, but a lamentable coldness and indifference as to these evangelical truths; especially among those who have it in their power to discountenance, and therefore ought not to patronize, such a glaring degeneracy. The world begins now to see no great harm in infidelity itself. Christianity is swallowed up in the religion of nature: the chair is almost every where filled with scorners: Even the productions of the pulpit are of a strange unchristian composition, and favour more of the rudiments of philosophy, than of the doctrine of Christ. The preaching of the cross is again become foolishness to the learned, and a stumbling-block to the men of this world. Therefore, though Christ has promised to be always with his church, and never promised what he did not mean to perform, yet we cannot hope that he will be with a faithless and apostate people. Unless we co-operate with him zealously to the blessed end, for which he promises to be with us, he will withdraw his presence from us, and have nothing to do with a lukewarm generation. For thus the sentence runs, against every disobedient and gainsaying people, "The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof."^t

How careful then should we be to walk worthy of the advantages we enjoy, and to be fruitful in every good word and work? For "herein is my Father glorified," said the blessed Son of God, "that ye bear much fruit, so shall ye be my disciples."^u The bearing much fruit, it seems, is the only way by which we can glorify his Father, and the best, indeed the only proof of our being really his disciples, of our abiding in him as branches of the true vine. It is not enough that we be entered into union with him, and made members of his church, in the way prescribed by his commission to the apostles: we must also "continue in that holy communion and fellowship, and do all such good works as he has commanded us to walk in." So shall we ensure to ourselves the continuance of that divine presence and protection, which he promised to his apostles and their successors, even to the end of the world. This powerful promise we have the utmost reason to confide in, if we are only thankful to the gracious Author of it, since we have seen it made good, in a very wonderful manner, to that part of his church, to which we have the happiness to belong. Without any of the boasted props of civil establishment, yea, often depressed by the hand of insulting power, it has, nevertheless, firmly

^t *S. Matt. xxi. 43.*

^u *S. John xv. 8.*

stood its ground, supported its own Almighty Head, and amidst the corruption of surrounding error, has restored itself to the purity of the primitive standard. May we not suppose, that for wise and good reasons, it has been thus wonderfully preserved and purified? No doubt, to shew the all-sufficiency of the divine protection; and perhaps to afford, through God's good providence, the means of conveying to others, a more liberal share of those spiritual blessings, which we enjoy under some restraint. And if such a blessed prospect is now presented to us, by the happy occasion of our assembling here this day, who would not wish success to the means of promoting so desirable an end? Who would not earnestly pray that the dispensation of the grace and knowledge of the gospel, by a valid and truly apostolic ministry, may, like the glorious light of heaven, go out from the east, to the utmost boundary of the western world, and nothing be hid from its saving influence?

Let it be our fervent petition to the throne of grace, that the blessed author and finisher of our faith, would thus give universal spread to the pure and primitive profession of it; that he would make his church to be yet glorious upon earth, and the joy of all lands: and thus teaching the nations once more, by the regular successors of his own apostles, give them universal cause to rejoice in the accomplishment of his merciful promise, "*Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.*" To him, therefore, the divine Almighty, Sovereign and only Protector of his church, the Shepherd and Bishop of our souls: to him, in unity with the Father and the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God be ascribed, as is most due, all glory and honour, thanksgiving and praise, now and evermore. Amen.

v *The desirable object of this prayer, as well as of the good work that gave occasion to the foregoing discourse, is most happily expressed by the worthy Dr. Horne, now Dean of Canterbury, and President of Magdalen College, Oxford, who in his Apology, &c., p. 27, after mentioning some respectable characters on the other side of the Atlantic, that "give us ideas of our Episcopal Brethren in America, to which we were before strangers," delivers his pious sentiments in these pathetic wishes. "May the great God, our Saviour, prosper the glorious work of their hands upon them, till the clouds of infidelity disperse before the Sun of Righteousness, rising to the American, perhaps as he sets to the European world; and till the unhappy misguided wanderers, having their eyes opened by the shining of his marvelous light, return to the church, and all become one fold under one Shepherd, the Bishop of their souls, ruling in every church that is his, by an earthly representative. And O come that happy day, when God shall put it into the hearts of our governors, to remember the groanings of such as are in captivity under the bondage of sin, and to consider the cries and tears of the hundreds and the thousands, who would receive a Bishop of the Church of England, as an angel of God, even as Christ Jesus; that he might ordain them elders in every city, who being sent forth, might preach liberty to the miserable captives, and the opening of the prison doors to them that are fast bound in darkness and the shadow of death, calling them forth into the light of the Lord God, and the Lamb, to behold him shining in his church in the beauty of holiness. For whom this glorious work of establishing Episcopacy in America, is reserved, God only knows. Blessed is he whose heart shall conceive, and whose hands shall accomplish it. His works done in the faith, and for the love of his Master, shall praise him, when that Master sits in judgment, in the gates of the new Jerusalem; and all generations arising from the dust, shall call him blessed."*

THE END.

THE EPISCOPATE OF BISHOP SEABURY

By William A. Beardsley

THE somewhat audacious venture into ecclesiastical polity and politics of that little group of quondam Church of England clergymen, who were working in Connecticut after the waves of the Revolution had rolled up their wreckage on the beach, had so far succeeded that the man who was the hero of that venture had gained the object of his quest, after long delay, delay as discouraging as it was long.

It is true that he had gained it not as he expected to gain it, nor as those who had sent him on that quest expected him to gain it, but, nevertheless, out of that little obscure upper room in dismal Longacre, Aberdeen, which served as the private chapel of Bishop Skinner, Samuel Seabury came on that memorable November 14, 1784, with properly authenticated Orders to be a Bishop in the Church of God, a Bishop whose jurisdiction was far away in the new Western world, "that very country," wrote the father of Bishop Skinner to Bishop Jolly, "to which the execution of my office has for these thirty years past exposed me to the risk of being banished as a felon."*

This reference is a reminder of the bitter hardships of the Scottish clergy, which, fortunately, were now abating owing to the changed and changing attitude toward the penal laws. It was Bishop Skinner, aided by his very able father, John Skinner of Linshart, who labored valiantly and successfully for their abrogation. In 1792 the days of oppression by law ceased for the Church in Scotland, but it was not until 1864 that all disabilities were removed.

One can well imagine that Bishop Seabury, as we must now call him, emerged from Longacre thoroughly humbled by the solemn experience through which he had just passed, and on the whole satisfied with the outcome of his patience and perseverance. Perhaps he was not as well satisfied as he would have been had he received his commission from the English Bishops to the south, but satisfied he was, nevertheless, because he had obtained what he came to get, namely, "a free, valid, and purely Ecclesiastical Episcopacy," to use the familiar and significant phrase of the Concordat.

**Scottish Church Review*, Vol. I, p. 597.

Of the genuineness of that Episcopacy Seabury had not a shadow of doubt. He was too good a student of ecclesiastical history and polity ever to have turned north to the Scottish Church, "proscribed and persecuted on account of its romantic fidelity to the banished Stuarts," if he had felt that what they could give him was not what he wanted, was not what the Church back home wanted. He might have gone thither in the first place, except, of course, that he was obeying his instructions, and naturally to the Mother Church in England would the first appeal be made. That would be simply a matter of filial courtesy, or, better, of filial duty.

It was nearly four months before the Bishop started homeward. It took him three months to reach his destination. This delay was due in large part to the fact that he encountered extremely rough weather in his passage over. Crossing the ocean then was not the pleasurable experience that it is now.

But his arrival home was also delayed because he stopped at Halifax. Two reasons may be assigned for this break in his journey. He had a married daughter, Abigail, living in St. John, New Brunswick. He would take this opportunity to visit her. That he did so is evidenced by the fact that we have the record of his preaching in that place, in Trinity Church, of which his son-in-law, Colin Campbell, was a vestryman.* He also preached in Annapolis Royal. And in a letter of the Rev. John Breynton, rector of St. Paul's Church, Halifax, we read: "D^r Seabury or Bishop Seabury stay'd ten Days with us, was treated with great civility by all that I & Col. Hannory could influence. He preached here in my Church & performed very well."† That not only accounts for some of Seabury's time in Nova Scotia, but it also gives us a passing judgment of him in his official capacity.

Another reason for his going to Nova Scotia may be that he was desirous of "spying out the land." Many of the Loyalists were there, having left the colonies, either by constraint or of their own free will. If he were not received at home, and therefore could not exercise his office as a Bishop there, perhaps he could in Nova Scotia.‡

In due time the Bishop resumed his journey, arriving at Newport, Rhode Island, June 20th, 1785. There in Trinity Church he preached his first sermon as a Bishop in this country. Seven days later he reached New London, where he was to make his home. Two days had barely passed before he began to lay his plans. Naturally, the first thing he would wish to do would be to meet his clergy. He is now the Chief Pastor of the flock, and he is in the field where he is to exercise his ministry as a Bishop.

**Ms. letter.*

†*Formative Period, 1784-1791, p. 6.*

‡*Letter of Daniel Fogg, Church Documents, Connecticut, Vol. II, p. 212.*

Yes, at last, at long last, there was a Bishop in Connecticut to assume the leadership, and help revive the feebly flickering life of the Church, and shape and guide its destinies through the troublous days that were to follow, days that were to witness its wise and heroic efforts to adapt itself to changed conditions, and to make a place for itself in the young Republic.

The Rev. Abraham Jarvis was the Secretary of the clergy, and to Jarvis Seabury wrote from New London acquainting him of his arrival there, and expressing his desire to see him, with particular reference to calling the clergy together as soon as it was practicable, at such time and place as might be arranged. Seabury had been a long time away from home, he felt the urgency of the work, there were certain proprieties to be observed, certain preliminaries to be looked after, those he would attend to at once and then get to work. He was eager to meet his clergy, but no more eager to meet them than they were to meet him. He must give an account of his stewardship.

Middletown was settled upon as the place of the meeting and August 2nd as the time. Ten of the clergy were present. We now know definitely who they were, for just recently the minutes of that meeting have been published.* Besides the Connecticut clergy there were present also the Rev. Benjamin Moore from New York and the Rev. Samuel Parker from Boston. Leaming was chosen President. The first item of business recorded in the minutes is as follows: "The right reve^d Dr. S. Seabury attended upon this Con. and his Letters of Consec: being requested by the same; they were produced and read, whereby it appeared to this Con: that he hath been duly & canonically consecrated a Bishop by the Bishops of the Epis: Chh: in Scotland."

The next morning the Convention reassembled, carefully went over the address of welcome to the Bishop, and appointed a Committee of four to go to the parsonage, and "in the name of the Clergy declare to the Bp. their Confirmatⁿ of their former Election of him, & that they now acknowledg^d & rec^d him their Bp." He returned with them to the church, and "seated in his Chair in the Altar, the Cler at the Rails," as the minutes have it, the address of the clergy was read by Mr. Hubbard, after which "the Bp. read his Answer—and gave the Apostolical Blessing—then the Clergy retired to th^r pews."

The necessary formalities were now over, and the Bishop was at liberty, as the Bishop of Connecticut, to exercise the duties of his office, and he straightway proceeded to do so. One of the pressing reasons why a Bishop was so much desired on this side of the water was that the young men seeking the ministry here might not be compelled to take that hazardous and tedious voyage to receive their

**Historical Magazine, Vol. III, p. 59.*

Orders, which, from the point of view of the Church, were essential to a valid ministry. Many had done so, and some had never returned. The loss of lives, in this way sacrificed, was a serious one to the Church.

The first thing, then, that Bishop Seabury did in his capacity as Bishop was to hold an ordination there in Middletown, and in connection with that first Convention. And so on August 3rd, 1785, four men were admitted Deacons, "Colin Ferguson, A. M., of Washington Colege, Maryland, Recommended by Dr. Wm. Smith, Rev'd Messrs. John McPherson, Wm. Thompson and others. Henry Van Dyke, A. M., Ashbel Baldwin, A. M., Philo Shelton, A. M., Recommended by the Clergy of Connect.'" That is the way the record appears in the Bishop's own handwriting in his Registry of Ordinations.*

Which of those four was the first to receive the laying on of hands? It is not a matter of any great consequence, though, possibly, a matter of interest. Among Mr. Shelton's descendants the tradition was strong that he was the first. And that was the tradition among the older clergy. But we can not attach too great weight to family tradition, nor to the recollections of elderly people. In the absence of any direct statement in the matter it would seem as if some regard ought to be given to the order as it appears in the Bishop's Registry of Ordinations. When he sat down to make the entries did he just write the names as they happened to come to mind? He did not enter them alphabetically, nor according to age. The obvious inference would be that he entered them as he ordained them, and Ferguson being a guest, so to speak, came first as a matter of courtesy. The Secretary's minutes give us no help, for they have an order of their own, and it is not the Bishop's order. But of course all this is a matter of idle and useless speculation, albeit a matter of some interest.

That first meeting of the Bishop with his clergy there in Middletown was in every way of such importance that it deserves more than a passing notice. We see Bishop Seabury entering upon the active work of his Episcopate with becoming modesty, but with the firmness of one who was reasonably sure of himself, and with a full understanding of the opportunities and responsibilities of his office.

His first charge to the clergy was a model in its way, concise, clear, forceful, stressing the points which he deemed of first importance to the development of the Church over which he was to preside, still very much in its infancy, but with great possibilities. One of those points was precisely what Bishops and Standing Committees are carefully and prayerfully considering today, namely, the need for a closer scrutiny of the qualifications of men offering themselves for the ministry.

**In the Archives of the Diocese of Connecticut.*

It would be difficult to improve upon what he says. In describing the character and qualifications of those who shall be presented to him for ordination he has this to say: "By qualifications, I mean not so much literary accomplishments, though these are not to be neglected, as aptitude for the work of the ministry. You must be sensible that a man may have, and deservedly have, an irreproachable moral character, and be endued with pious and devout affections, and a competent share of human learning, and yet, from want of prudence, or from deficiency in temper, or some singularity in disposition, may not be calculated to make a *good* Clergyman; for to be a *good* Clergyman implies, among other things, that a man be a *useful* one. A clergyman who does no *good*, always does *hurt*: There is no medium." It is doubtful if even a Whig or Tory could take exception to that, and it ought to have satisfied the most rigid Churchman or Presbyterian.

At that first Convention, or Convocation rather, for a distinction must now be made, a movement was set on foot to change the Liturgy to meet the changed conditions of the Church, to adapt it to its new political environment. When the Bishop dissolved the Convention he directed the clergy to meet him a little later in the day in Convocation. Inasmuch as the Convention was composed only of clergy it might seem as if there were a distinction without a difference. But there was a difference. "From a survey of the Convocation's work we can formulate this definition of the term as applied to the assembly of the clergy of Connecticut: The Convocation is the body of the clergy of a Diocese called together by its Bishop to consult upon the spiritual interests of the Diocese, to determine and act upon all matters concerning the welfare and edification of the Diocese, and to advise the Bishop in regard to such cases of discipline as he may see fit to lay before it."*

On October 1st, 1790, "The Constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States" was approved by the Convocation of the clergy of Connecticut. It was not adopted, however, by the various parishes, to permit the organization of a Convention under it, until 1792. With the Convention came the advent of the laymen into the temporal affairs of the Diocese, and the Convocation henceforth was concerned almost entirely with spiritual matters.

The Committee that was appointed at that first Convocation "to consider of & make some Alterat^{ns} in the Liturgy needful for the present Use of the Chh" remained in session for two days in Middletown, and, with the Bishop, agreed upon such changes as they deemed the most important, which were those regarding the state prayers.

*"The Records of Convocation, 1790-1848," p. 13.

Other changes were put over to the meeting of the Convocation which was to be held in New Haven in September. The changes agreed upon were set forth and authorized by the Bishop in a pastoral letter dated August 12th, 1785.

Dr. Samuel Parker of Boston was present at that first Convocation in a semi-official capacity. He was there to assist in giving a welcome to the new Bishop, but he was there also "to collect the Sentiments of the Connect^t Clergy in respect of Dr. Seabury's episcopal Consecratⁿ, the Regulat^{ns} of his episcopal Jurisdictⁿ, and their thots of connecting themselves with them, under his Episcopal Charge." This interested the Connecticut clergy, and they "expressed th^r warmest Wishes for the Union & concurrence of th^r Breth^{rn} in Massachusetts und^r Bp. Seabury."

Dr. Parker was a member of the Committee appointed at Middletown to make alterations in the Liturgy, indeed it was at his suggestion that the work was undertaken, as we learn from a letter of his to Dr. White. "It was at my Request that the Bishop with his Clergy agreed to make some alterations in the Liturgy and Offices of the Church and a Com'tee from the body of the Clergy was Chosen to attend him for that purpose." Most of these proposed changes were accepted by Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire at a Convention held September 7th and 8th. Thus far there had been no attempt, apparently, to introduce the Scottish Office.

But that would come all in good time. Seabury had returned from his venture abroad bearing his Episcopal Orders from the non-juring Bishops of Scotland, but he also bore in his portfolio the duplicate of a document which we know as the *Concordat*, a mutual solemn agreement between the consecrating Bishops and the Bishop consecrated. Two of the Articles of that *Concordat* have to do with the forms of worship, and one in particular with the Communion Office. The whole document is beautifully persuasive, eloquently forceful, lovingly tender, in its desire that it shall be a "Bond of Union, between the Catholic remainder of the ancient Church of Scotland, and the now rising Church in the State of Connecticut."

A brief quotation from that *Concordat* will show the obligation under which Seabury rested. "And tho' the Scottish Bishops are very far from prescribing to their Brethren in this matter, they cannot help ardently wishing that Bishop Seabury would endeavour all he can consistently with peace and prudence, to make the Celebration of this venerable Mystery conformable to the most primitive Doctrine and practice in that respect: Which is the pattern the Church of Scotland has copied after in her Communion office." "Bishop Seabury also agrees to take a serious view of the Communion office recom-

mended by them, and if found agreeable to the genuine Standards of Antiquity, to give his Sanction to it, and by gentle methods of Argument and persuasion, to endeavour, as they have done, to introduce it by degrees into practice without the Compulsion of Authority on the one side, or the prejudice of former Custom on the other."

That is a graciously worded instrument, clear and definite in what was desired, and courteous in its presentation of the methods to obtain that desire. Seabury had not put his name to that document lightly. And so it was a serious obligation with him to carry out his part of the solemn agreement.

In the following year, 1786, he put forth for use in Connecticut the Scottish Communion Office. This met with the instant approval of the Connecticut clergy, and evidences of a preference, or at all events, of a fondness, for it were seen for nearly half a century after the ratification of the Book of Common Prayer.*

As for alterations in the Prayer Book as a whole Bishop Seabury counselled deliberation. He had "found that the Church people of Connecticut were much alarmed at the thoughts of any considerable alterations being made in the Prayer Book," and it was his feeling that no alterations should be attempted until a "little time shall have cooled down the tempers and conciliated the affections of people to each other." He was certainly moving in the spirit of the *Concordat*.

And he was all the more inclined to proceed cautiously because of the reports which were coming to him of the doings of the States to the south, which, as then understood, meant New York and all below it. From September 27th to October 7th, 1785, delegates from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina had met in Convention in Philadelphia. They had adopted a preliminary draft of a Constitution "for the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America," and had also agreed upon certain more obvious changes in the Prayer Book.

This is frequently called the first General Convention. In its intent and purpose it was that. It is true that Connecticut was not represented, but it is equally true that Connecticut was invited. Bishop Seabury and his clergy were not satisfied with the conditions under which the Convention was called, and with its personnel. There was that matter of lay representation. Seabury did not like that, not that he was opposed to the laity, but because, as he understood their "fundamental principles," the Bishop was subjected to the jurisdiction of presbyters and laymen, and that was altogether contrary to his conception of the office and power of the Bishop.

**Beardsley's Life of Seabury*, p. 263.

The personal element entered very little, if at all, into his attitude. It was a matter of principle with him. He was influenced by what he regarded as the practice of the primitive Church.

Bishop Seabury's attitude towards the laity is apt to be misunderstood and misrepresented. It is too often disposed of as rigid and uncompromising. But his own words do not quite bear that out. "I have as great a regard for the laity as any man can have." "But I cannot conceive that the Laity can with any propriety be admitted to sit in judgment on Bps. and Presbyters, especially when deposition may be the event; because they cannot take away a character which they cannot confer. It is incongruous to every idea of Episcopal government." It was because he felt that their "fundamental principles" allowed just that, that he voiced his opposition. And he carried his point, for in the Constitution which came out of that Convention of 1789 this, to him, anomalous situation was eliminated.

But this attitude toward lay representation was not peculiar to Bishop Seabury. It was the attitude of the Connecticut clergy. Seabury was a Connecticut man himself, and therefore familiar with Connecticut traditions, and, so far as this matter was concerned, that tradition was that the clergy only were members of their ecclesiastical councils. None but clergy went to that secret meeting in Woodbury, which selected Seabury to go abroad for consecration.

The suggestion has been made that the reason for not summoning the laity to that meeting was a consideration for their safety.* It is not likely that the clergy were as solicitous for their laity as that, however highly they may have valued them. No, it was a matter of principle with them. Spiritual and ecclesiastical affairs belonged to the clergy. This tradition still lingers in Connecticut, as is evidenced in the make-up of its Standing Committee, which is composed only of clergymen. But this is not as anomalous as it may seem, inasmuch as the Diocese is so organized that the laity are very largely responsible for the temporal affairs of the Diocese, while the great bulk of the business which falls to the Standing Committee has to do with spiritual and ecclesiastical matters.

But to go back to that Convention of 1785. Out of it came the "Proposed Book," as it was called. It was published April 1st, 1786. One of the "fundamental principles," recommended as the basis of a union in a general ecclesiastical Constitution was that the Church shall adhere to the Liturgy of the Church of England "as far as shall be consistent with the American Revolution and the Constitutions of the respective States."

But when this "Proposed Book" appeared it was found that too

*McConnell, *"History of the American Episcopal Church,"* p. 226.

many and too radical changes had been made. The English Bishops were greatly perturbed by it, and did not hesitate to say so. This had a serious aspect for those, who, dissatisfied with Seabury's Orders, were hoping and working for an English Episcopate.

And as for Seabury himself, he of course found little satisfaction in it. His imprimatur of approval would hardly be given to a book which left out the Nicene Creed, and he was altogether partial to the Athanasian Creed, and that too had gone by the board. But as events turned out the "Proposed Book" exerted but little influence on the liturgical life of the Church. The General Convention of 1789, which should probably be considered the first *real* General Convention, as meeting all the requirements, put forth a Book of Common Prayer, which, while it represented compromises, yet was reasonably satisfactory to all, as being the best that could be obtained under the circumstances. Seabury's desire for the Athanasian Creed went unfulfilled, but probably not many have felt any deep sense of liturgical loss. One Connecticut clergyman* wrote rather mournfully, perhaps a bit exaggeratedly, "Poor Athanasius is beheaded, his Creed condemned as heretical. Areans Socinians, &c., may now fill our Churches."

But the great achievement as regards the Prayer Book of 1789 was the adoption of the Communion Service, in which the Scottish Office was the model, and here, of course, we see the hand of Seabury. He had agreed with his consecrators to take a serious view of the Scottish Communion Office, and by gentle methods of argument and persuasion introduce it into the American Church. He had been successful in the narrower field of Connecticut. Now his task was more difficult. The point of particular interest to him had reference to the prayer of consecration. And he had very strong convictions about that, so strong in fact were they that, as Bishop White tells us, he hardly considered the form in the English Office as "strictly amounting to a consecration." He felt that without "a more formal oblation of the elements, and of the invocation of the Holy Ghost to sanctify and bless them," the whole act was woefully deficient.

Here was a matter which might easily have shattered beyond repair the harmony of that gathering, and retarded for a long time, if not forever, the organization and consolidation of the Church. Bishop White recognized the extreme delicacy of the situation, rather expected that "the great change made, in restoring to the consecration prayer the oblationary words and the invocation of the Holy Spirit," words which were left out in King Edward's Prayer Book of 1552, would at

**Ebenezer Dibblee, "Formative Period, 1784-1791," p. 72.*

least have "produced an opposition." But no such thing happened "to any considerable extent."

This may be attributed to the "gentle methods of argument and persuasion" of Seabury, but more particularly to the godly wisdom and tactfulness of White. On the eve of the Convention Seabury wrote to him an appealing letter, which shows the high estimate he had of his influence. And his confidence was not misplaced, for had Bishop White "thrown his vote against what is now the most striking departure of the American from the English Prayer Book it would never have had a place therein."* And it is a well-known fact that White, if not strenuous in his opposition to it, certainly had no fondness for it. Due credit should be given to Dr. William Smith, President of the lower House, who favored the Prayer, and used his influence to bring about its adoption. The more one reads the story of this formative and critical period of the Episcopal Church in America, the more he will be impressed with the true greatness of those two men, White and Seabury.

They represented different types. They differed in temperament, differed in their manner of gaining their ends, differed in their Churchmanship. And yet probably the difference there was not as great as is commonly supposed. Seabury was a high Churchman, his standard always the primitive Church. White's classification was that of a low Churchman, but the degree of his "low" was as moderate as Seabury's "high." They were both intensely loyal to their Church, and neither would fit in with any comfort to the classification of "high" and "low" today.

That General Convention of 1789 was memorable not alone for the adoption of the Book of Common Prayer, which was to remain practically unaltered until 1886, but it was memorable also for what might be called the nationalization of the Church. And it was the opportune time for such action. Out of that Convention came the Church united as to its organization, and the danger of a Church geographically divided was averted, as was averted also the danger of a Church divided as to its Scotch or English origin.

And this was a real danger. Seabury was jealous of his position as the Bishop of Connecticut, with no shadow of doubt as to the genuineness of his Orders, in which certainty his clergy shared. But there were those elsewhere who looked askance at both him and his Orders. And in some quarters there was a bitter hostility to him based on the ground of his well-known loyalist sentiments in the past, and that hostility was not softened by the knowledge that he was in receipt of a pension from the British Government. Pensions, as such,

*McGarvey. "*Liturgiæ Americanæ*," p. xxx.

have not always been under suspicion with the American people. It is only the source whence they are derived that gives them a questionable look.

But the stronger ground of hostility to him was no doubt the source of his Orders. It was unquestionably those non-juring Orders from Scotland that so affected Bishop Provoost's spelling, that "Cebra" was as near as he could get to the Bishop's name. "He didn't care a picaune for the Non Jurors as Ch'men. He hated 'em as Jacobites & Tories. It was easy for him to make Jurorism a *cover* for his political malignity as a Whig. The *odium politicum* is more remorseless than the *odium theologicum*—let worldlings say what they will."*

These facts are mentioned here only for the purpose of showing the delicacy of the situation that prevailed, and its possibilities for disaster. But there was an earnest desire for a united Church, and with White working to that end, not forgetting Parker of Massachusetts, and Smith of Philadelphia, the outlook began to brighten.

Early in the Convention of 1789—it began July 28th, adjourning to meet again in September—this resolution was unanimously adopted: "That it is the opinion of this Convention, that the Consecration of the Right Rev. Dr. Seabury to the Episcopal office is valid." There at last was the removal of the great stumbling block. Henceforth progress was comparatively easy. However grudgingly on the part of some that may have come, it had come. Now what would Seabury do?

Well the summer passed, and on September 29th the Convention reassembled. Seabury was there with two of his clergy. He presented his letters of consecration which were read and ordered to be recorded. When the General Constitution of this Church, as altered and amended, "was laid before him and his deputies, they placed their names to it, and took their seats as members of the Convention," and now the "Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America" was definitely and fully organized. Bishop Seabury may not have gained all that he desired, and others may have had to take more than they desired, but it is ever thus that progress is made. Concessions, compromises, even sacrifices, are oftentimes necessary to the accomplishment of ends that are tremendously desirable, and yet might not otherwise be attained.

As an indication of the attitude of Bishop Seabury in that Convention we have the testimony of one who was never quite reconciled to the way in which Seabury received his Orders, and who somewhat whimsically asked, "was there no other way for him to be Cloathed

**Ms. Letter. T. W. Coit.*

with his Pontificals but by coming in at the *back Door?*"* That was Ebenezer Diblee, who, writing to Samuel Peters from Stamford under date of February 5th, 1793, said, "In a late Convention of the Bishops, Clerical & Lay Delegates of the United States; a happy Coalition among the Bishops took place. Through Bishop Seabury's wise & prudent conduct, all contention for primacy or precedence is laid aside. A happy union we hope will succeed."†

In his Journal Bishop Seabury makes this entry which bears upon this matter: "At the last General Convention at Philadelphia, it was proposed by Bp. White, & agreed to by me, that the eldest Bp. present (to be reckoned from his Consecration) should be President of the House of Bps. This agreement seemed to be displeasing to Bps. Provost & Maddison; and it was proposed by them that the presidency should go by rotation, beginning from the North. I had no inclination to contend who should be the greatest in the kingdom of heaven, & therefore readily consented to relinquish the Presidency into the hands of Bp. Provost. I thank God for his grace on this occasion, & beseech him that no self exaltation or envy of others may ever lead me into debate & contention, but that I may ever be willing to be the least, when the peace of his Chch requires it. Amen."

Well, the General Convention had adopted a Constitution, and set forth a Book of Common Prayer. Would Connecticut approve? Inasmuch as their Bishop had subscribed to both, Connecticut assuredly would. On June 2nd, 1790, the Convocation of the Clergy of Connecticut met in Litchfield. It was the first meeting since the Convention, and a well-attended meeting it was, the Minutes showing that the Bishop and fifteen of the clergy were present. The Constitution and Canons were briefly considered, but action on them was deferred to an adjourned meeting to be held in Newtown on August 26th, which in turn was postponed to September 30th. At that meeting the alterations in the Book of Common Prayer were read and considered.

Presumably the minds of the clergy had so far crystallized that little or no debate was necessary, at least there is no suggestion of it in the Minutes, for immediately comes the entry: "On motion, The question was put, in these words, '*Whether we confirm the doings of our Proctors in the General Convention at Philadelphia, on the 2^d day of Octob^r, 1789.*'" That is a blanket vote, apparently, covering Constitution and Prayer Book, and it was carried with only one dissenting voice.‡ He offered a very formal and formidable "Protest," which was read and ordered to be recorded by his desire, and then the

**Historical Magazine*, Vol. I, p. 63.

†*Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 76.

‡*Rev. James Sayre.*

Convocation adjourned for the day. The next morning the protester withdrew and left the Convocation.

The Constitution having been adopted in Convocation, and the Book of Common Prayer accepted, then came the question as to the mode of introducing them into the several parishes. While it was "agreed that each of the Clergy should take that method that should appear to him the most eligible," yet there was no thought of leaving it so completely to the discretion of the clergy that they might or might not adopt the Constitution, for in the records of the Convocation of 1792 we find the vote recorded: "That unless the Wardens & Vestrymen of Christ's Church in Stratford shall transmit to the R^t Rev'd the Bishop of Connecticut, within 14 days after Easter-Monday next, a Notification, that the congregation of s^d Church, have adopted the constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church, as settled by the general Convention at Philadelphia, in Octob^r 1789, they (the Congregation) will be considered as having totally separated themselves from the Church of Connecticut."

And again, in 1793 there is the record of a vote—"That the Clergy, in the execution of their ministerial office, can not pay any attention to the Church at Woodbury, until they accede to the Constitution of the Church in Connecticut." This was the parish in which Seabury was elected, but Marshall, the rector, had died January 21st, 1789, and in 1793 the Rev. James Sayre was in charge, he of the "Protest." This explains things.

These references to the Church in operation are given here simply to show the determination of Seabury to make effective in his own Diocese the organization which had been set up after many and serious difficulties had been overcome. That we can see the hand of Seabury here there is little doubt. And it has its significance as bearing upon the character of Seabury. It does not suggest the autocrat, but instead, the firmness of one, who, having committed himself to a course, not in all respects as he would have had it, yet in the larger interests of the Church will faithfully follow that course.

And this brings us to the consideration of the Episcopate of Seabury in its more local and diocesan aspect. As we have seen, upon his return from his consecration he at once set to work to be a Bishop in fact. As there had never been a Bishop out here, there was, of course, an abundance of those things which Bishops do, awaiting him, young men to be ordained, candidates to be confirmed, churches to be consecrated. The Bishop threw himself into his task eagerly and wholeheartedly. By 1790 his jurisdiction was extended to Rhode Island, for in that year "the churches of Newport, Provi-

dence, and Bristol, met in Convention, and declared the Right Rev. Samuel Seabury, D. D., Bishop of the church in Connecticut, Bishop of the church in this State." This was an addition of responsibilities more than of territory.

There is in the Archives of the Diocese of Connecticut an exact copy, duly authenticated, of Bishop Seabury's Journal covering the period from May 30th, 1791, to November 4th, 1795. He called this "Journal B," which would indicate that there was a "Journal A." If there was, then it has disappeared, and that is a serious loss, for it would have covered those tremendously important first years of his Episcopate.

"This day, Monday, May 30th, I am to set out by water for New Port, my daughter Maria accompanying me." So begins "Journal B," which records an Episcopal journey extending as far as Portsmouth, New Hampshire, before his return to New London, after an absence of six weeks and four days, "having traveled, out & home, by land & water, 397 miles." He traveled by boat, on horseback, by stagecoach, and by "Post coach" or "Post chariot." The entry regarding his visit to Newbury Port is interesting. There in the afternoon he preached to a congregation "supposed to consist of more than 2,000 people," and confirmed about fifty. But the church was so "crowded that the aisles were impassable to those in the remote parts. Those who wished to be confirmed were therefore requested to repair to the Church the next day, when after Prayers they would be attended to." About fifty were then confirmed.

That is merely a sample of the nature of the Bishop's work. Laboriously he went about his field, preaching and confirming, and smoothing out the usual difficulties which fall to a Bishop's lot. Whoever among his enemies thought to discredit him by picturing him as riding about his Diocese in regal style glorified his sulky into a royal coach, for that seems to have been his chief means of transportation for minor journeys. He does speak in one place of a "hired chariot," but there is no mention of postilions and outriders, and so we may conclude that when the Bishop went by he created no more excitement than any humble traveler would who was trying to get from one place to another.

The Bishop preached, of course, wherever he went, but as he invariably mentioned his text it is clear that he "traveled light" so far as that item in his luggage was concerned, for the same sermon did duty over and over again, a practice which may be forgiven a Bishop who necessarily leads a nomadic existence.

Bishop Seabury had his enemies. One of the counts made against him at Woodbury was that he was a refugee. That was a very serious

count. But those electors could settle upon no one else who, they thought, was so likely to succeed. Evidently they had little hope that Leaming, who was their first choice, would accept. And then Seabury came back with Orders derived from the non-juring Bishops of Scotland, and that in the minds of many was a serious count against him. Here were the two great sources of hostility shown to him, one political, the other ecclesiastical; and it would probably be a safe assumption that that latter form of hostility still lingers on, though, no doubt, growing less as the figure of the Bishop recedes farther into the past.

Even Leaming felt the handicap under which Seabury labored, this handicap of hostility, for in a letter* to Samuel Peters, dated June 1st, 1786, he unburdened himself, a bit disheartened, perhaps, at the way things were going, and admitted "under the rose," that "had I known that Dr. S. had so many personal Enemies, I should not have given the answer I did," which answer was, *Nolo Episcopare*, given because "fearing the Chh. might suffer under my poor Abilities," among which he counted "diffidence," which he designates a "misfortune," and also his age and infirmities, if his repeated reference to them means anything. This bespeaks no disloyalty to Seabury, but merely recognizes the difficulties under which he labored, and the menace to the cause, of all this hostility.

In attempting to estimate the character of Seabury and his Episcopate, this matter of the hostility shown to him must be brought into the reckoning. Any fair appraisal of his life and work as a Bishop must take into account his success in overcoming opposition, and commending himself to his own Church and to those outside of it. Certain misconceptions regarding him, which had either purposely or ignorantly been fostered, were forgotten as time went on, and Seabury assumed the place in the picture which is rightly his. A small man would never have won through.

Read his Journal, the record of his travels from place to place in his Diocese, of his work among and for his people, done in the consciousness of the ever-present power of God, and you shall see limned there the portrait of a true Bishop, of a "simple, grand, conciliatory, uncompromising man," of a man humble as he was honest, a man of faith and conviction.

His Episcopate covered only eleven years, but they were tremendous years in the life of the Church in Connecticut and America, and while no one would claim for Seabury a greatness beyond his deserts, yet that he was the man for the occasion and the task there will be few to deny. He possessed certain qualities which were needed

**Historical Magazine*, Vol. I, p. 131.

for the hour, qualities which, coupled with those of Bishop White, wrought a great work for the Church at a crucial time in its history. However much men may differ from Seabury in their conception of the Church, in their understanding of the things which they deem essential, yet they will accord to him the honor which belongs to one who, having a distinct goal, holds to his course with patience and courage, and devotion, until at last he comes to the end a victor in the long, hard struggle, and those who freely condemn now just as freely praise.

A Bishop* of recent years, who himself, not indifferently fits his own characterization of Seabury, says: "The grand old Bishop! How he stood for the integrity of the faith in the days that were dark, and among the friends that were few, and before Gallios that were many, and against enemies that were mighty!" Truly may we say in the words of the inscription carved upon the marble that marked his grave in the public burying ground in New London, and later transferred to the church where rests his body:

"He was duly qualified to discharge the duties of
The Christian and the Bishop."

**Bishop Daniel S. Tuttle, Ms. Letter.*

PLANS FOR THE SEABURY CELEBRATION

By Origen S. Seymour

Chancellor of the Diocese of Connecticut

IN anticipation of the One Hundred and Fiftieth anniversary of the gift of the Episcopate to the American Church, the last General Convention, on motion of Dr. Burton Mansfield of Connecticut, appointed a Joint Commission consisting of five Bishops, five Presbyters and five Laymen to arrange for the fitting observance of this historic event. At the suggestion of the Commission, the Diocese of Connecticut observed the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the election of the Reverend Dr. Samuel Seabury as first Bishop of Connecticut with a service held March 25th, 1933, in St. Paul's Church, Woodbury, near the historic Glebe House in which ten of the Connecticut clergy met on March 25th, 1783, to elect a Bishop. The Service of Holy Communion was followed by an address delivered by the Reverend Dr. George Thomas Linsley, and in the afternoon a pageant was presented, participated in by the late Right Reverend E. Campion Acheson, D. D., Bishop of Connecticut, and many of the diocesan clergy.

Immediately after his election Doctor Seabury sailed for England to secure consecration at the hands of the Bishops of the Church of England, if that were possible. The story of his long wait in the anteroom of Lambeth Palace and the disappointing delays which the Bishop-elect endured in the succeeding year and one half is patiently, if not uncomplainingly, told in the letters Dr. Seabury wrote from London to his brethren in Connecticut. Finally, his patience exhausted, Dr. Seabury went to Scotland and, as is well known, was duly consecrated a Bishop in the Church of God at Aberdeen on November 14th, 1784, by the Bishops of the Episcopal Church of Scotland.

To signalize properly this Anniversary, the Commission has arranged for a Joint Session of both Houses of General Convention on Tuesday, October 16th, at which Session the Bishop of Aberdeen and Orkney, the Right Reverend Frederic Llewellyn Deane, D. D., will be present and receive an official welcome as the successor of two of Seabury's three consecrators. This will be fol-

lowed by a Celebration of the Holy Communion as a Thanksgiving for the gift of the Episcopate to the American Church at eight o'clock on Sunday morning, October 21st, in Atlantic City.

The Commission has further planned, in cooperation with a Committee appointed by the Bishop of Connecticut, to hold a public meeting at New Haven, Conn., on Wednesday, November 14th. The celebration in New Haven will include a dinner to Bishop Deane on the evening of the 13th; a service of Holy Communion in Trinity Church at nine o'clock on Wednesday morning; and at eleven o'clock, historical addresses by the Bishop of Aberdeen and the Reverend William A. Beardsley, D. D., in the Sprague Auditorium of Yale University. As an important adjunct to this celebration there will be on exhibition in the Sterling Library of Yale, memorabilia of Bishop Seabury which will include the original Concordat between him and the Bishops of the Scottish Church; the famous letter to the Clergy of Connecticut signed by his consecrators—Robert Kilgour, *Primus*, Bishop of Aberdeen, Arthur Petrie, the Bishop of Ross and Caithness, and John Skinner, coadjutor Bishop of Aberdeen; the Mitre which Seabury wore; and his original Prayer Book with marginal notes in his own handwriting showing the changes which he desired made and which were made in our own Book of Common Prayer. Besides this, many letters, cartoons and pictures which will illustrate his life and work both as Priest and Bishop will be shown. This exhibit will be open during the whole month of November and will afford not only to Churchmen, but to all those interested in our early institutions, a valuable opportunity to increase their knowledge of this formative period in the history of our country.

On Wednesday afternoon, the 14th, an opportunity will be afforded those who attend the celebration to drive out to Woodbury to visit the Glebe House where ten of the fourteen clergymen of the Church of England then in active service in Connecticut met in secret to elect one of their number to be the *first* Bishop of our Church. Through the wisdom of the late Bishop Acheson and a group of influential churchmen and women, a fund was raised to restore and care for this historic shrine. The work of physical restoration has been most faithfully carried out.

Rhode Island elected Bishop Seabury as their Bishop in 1790 and this Diocese will also observe this anniversary by a Service of Thanksgiving and Commemoration in the Cathedral of Saint John, Providence, on Sunday, November 18th. The Bishop of Aberdeen will also preach at a Diocesan Service in the Cathedral that evening.

It is proper at this time to recall that in 1784 the Office of Bishop required of its possessor both moral and physical courage. When

Bishop Seabury made his first Episcopal visitation to Trinity Church, New Haven, the church building was stoned by a mob and many windows broken. This was not the first time he had been so maltreated. It will be recalled that he was dragged from his church in Westchester, November 22, 1775, taken to New Haven, and imprisoned for some four weeks.¹ To members of the "established" (Congregational) Church in Connecticut the record that appears in the Town Clerk's Office at Middletown, shortly after the first Toleration Act was passed, was regarded as God's very truth. It read: "'John Smith', having this day renounced the Christian religion, has become an Episcopalian."

¹*For details, see above, pp. 130-131.*

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EDITORIAL NOTES

WE regret to chronicle the death of the Reverend Dr. George F. Smythe, who since 1917 was Historiographer of the diocese of Ohio. Dr. Smythe was a careful student of the history of this Church and made two notable contributions in the shape of *Kenyon College, Its First Century*, and the *History of the Diocese of Ohio*. One of his last acts was to write the following unsolicited letter:

Gambier, Ohio.
June Twentieth,
1934

The Rev. E. Clowes Chorley, D. D.
Editor of the "Historical Magazine of
the Protestant Episcopal Church,"
Garrison, New York.

My dear Dr. Chorley,

I have just finished reading the "Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church" for June; and I have also read all the previous numbers as they have come out. I have done much work in compiling and writing Church history, and I know what is most needed in a magazine of this kind. What is most needed is "sources"—material from which the Church historiographer may gather the information he needs. Such articles as your June number contains are just what the historiographer needs; and most of which he finds it hard to get at.

Your Magazine is rendering a real and important service to the history of our Church, and it deserves the support of

every one of us who believes in the encouragement of the study of that history.

Sincerely yours,
George F. Smythe.

THE EDITORS are very grateful for the expressions of appreciation concerning the Samuel Seabury number of the Magazine. Copies were sent to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and to all the Bishops of the Scottish Church. The following letter has been received from the Primus of the Scottish Church:

Forbes Court
Broughty Ferry
18th Octr., 1934.

Dear Dr. Chorley:

I have today received a copy of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, containing articles for the Sesqui-Centennial number. I was very much interested, as it was only last night that I had been reading the full report of the Centenary Services and Meetings in Aberdeen in October, 1884. I was then an Oxford Undergraduate and well remember going to some of the meetings and being greatly impressed by the earnestness and eloquence of the American Bishops who spoke.

I am very much obliged to you for your kind thought in sending me the Magazine, which I shall read with very great interest. I trust your celebrations may pass off very successfully.

Yours sincerely,
W. J. F. Robberds,
Bishop of Brechin, Primus of the
Episcopal Church in Scotland.

On the eve of his departure for Scotland after a very successful visit to the United States, the Lord Bishop of Aberdeen and Orkney writes:

December 1st, 1934.

My dear Dr. Chorley:

May I offer you my congratulations on the excellence of the Sesqui-Centennial number of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE? I well understand the care and labor which must have gone into its production, but the labor was well worth while, for the letters which you have published will always remain of permanent interest to all who care for the history of their Church.

Yours most sincerely,
Frederick Aberdeen and Orkney.

A kindly word has come from his Grace, the Archbishop of York, who writes:

Bishopsthorpe,
York.

Dear Sir:

I write to thank you very warmly for your kindness in sending me a copy of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. This gathering together of the history of that immensely important episode is of supreme importance.

Yours very truly,
William Ebor.

From Fulham Palace, under date of November 12th, 1934, the Bishop of London writes:

Dear Chorley:

I have read with great interest your account of Bishop Seabury's Consecration and it is of especial interest to me, as the United States was under the Bishop of London for 170 years. I wish all success to the celebration of the event.

Yours sincerely,
A. F. London.

The Very Reverend the Dean of Canterbury adds this word:

"It is a most interesting document, and of great value."

Words of appreciation have come from leaders in our own Church.

General Theological Seminary,
November 8th, 1934.

Dear Dr. Chorley:

The Bishop Seabury number of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is entirely worthy of the event it celebrates. It brings together all the significant documents and an interpretation of them distinguished alike for its soundness and interest. I congratulate you very heartily.

Faithfully yours,
Hughell Fosbroke, Dean.

From the same institution Professor Howard Chandler Robbins writes:

"This is a grand number of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE and a permanent contribution to American Church History."

THE SESQUI-CENTENNIAL celebration of the consecration of Samuel Seabury as first Bishop of Connecticut and of the Anglican Church outside Great Britain and Ireland was not only a great success, but has also given an impetus to the study of the history of the American Church. The genial presence of the Bishop of Aberdeen and Orkney added interest to the occasion. He officiated in the dioceses of New York, New Jersey, Long Island, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Maryland, Virginia and Massachusetts. On November 14th, the actual date of the consecration at Aberdeen, dignified services were held at New Haven, at which addresses were given by Bishop Deane, the Rev. Dr. William Beardsley, the Hon. Samuel Seabury, and the Governor of Connecticut. In this connection special mention should be made of the remarkable exhibit of Seabury material in the Sterling Library of Yale University. It included many Seabury letters, documents and several of the Bishop's manuscript sermons, together with one of his manuscript Journals. On the same day the event was suitably observed at Aberdeen and cabled greetings were exchanged between the United States and Scotland.

THE PROCEEDINGS of the General Convention were distinctly encouraging to all who are interested in the history of this Church. In response to a memorial from the Church Historical Society the Convention requests the clergy to preach at least one sermon a year on our own history. It would seem that the most appropriate Sunday would be the third Sunday after Trinity, that being the day when the Holy Communion was first celebrated by the Rev. Robert Hunt for the newly landed settlers on the Island of Jamestown, Virginia. The Convention also made a modest grant for historical research. It will be expended for the copying or photostating of manuscript material in libraries and in the possession of Historical Societies in order that such material may be printed in this Magazine and thus be made readily available to research students.

INTERESTING HISTORICAL CELEBRATIONS are looming up in the year 1935. It will be the Sesqui-Centennial of the first General Convention, and of the organization of the dioceses of New York, New Jersey, Virginia and South Carolina; also the Centennial

of the organization of the diocese of Illinois with Philander Chase as its first Bishop, and of the reorganization of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society and of the consecration of Jackson Kemper as the first Missionary Bishop of this Church. The Bishop of South Carolina will contribute an article to the Magazine on the beginnings of that diocese and the Rev. Dr. Brydon will render a like service for Virginia. Later in the year there will be a Jackson Kemper number.

THE PRESENT ISSUE brings to a close the third volume of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. It is earnestly hoped that all present subscribers will at the earliest possible moment renew their subscriptions for 1935 and will endeavor to secure new subscriptions. We are within sight of putting the Magazine on a paying basis and this can be accomplished by the co-operation of our readers.

NOTE.—*The issues for March and September, 1933, are out of print. They are in demand by those who desire to have a complete file. If any subscribers are in a position to send one or both of these issues to the Editor it will be much appreciated.*

THE SEABURY CONSECRATION

ADDITIONAL LETTERS

With Notes by the Editor

IN THE LAST NUMBER of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE the letters written by the Rev. Doctor Samuel Seabury during his stay in England in 1783 and 1784 were published. They dealt with his efforts to obtain consecration in the Church of England; his failure so to do; his correspondence with the Connecticut clergy, and the opening of negotiations with the non-juring Bishops of the Episcopal Church in Scotland.

We are now in the happy position of being able to supplement that correspondence with additional letters, not hitherto published, shedding valuable light on that important event. They have been recently discovered in the archives of the Synod of Aberdeen and brought to this country by the Bishop of that diocese, who has graciously consented to their publication in the Magazine. After being exhibited in the Sterling Library of Yale University, they will be returned to Scotland and will be carefully preserved.

They fall into two main groups: First, the letters which passed between the Scottish bishops relating to the proposed consecration. These are of supreme importance. The second group consists of letters written after the consecration by Bishop John Skinner, Jr., Bishop Seabury and the Rev. Jonathan Boucher, vicar of Epsom, formerly a Church of England minister in Maryland.

The letters, for the most part, speak for themselves. But certain things stand out very clearly. One is the extreme care which was given to Seabury's application for consecration. Another is the inflexible determination of the Scottish bishops to proceed once they had determined to accede to the application. They resisted the quiet but steady pressure which was brought to bear upon them to abstain from consecration—notably that of the Rev. Dr. William Smith of Maryland, who himself aspired to the episcopate; likewise the veiled threat of the displeasure of the English Archbishops. None of these considerations moved the gallant little band of the three Scottish bishops in spite of the fact that the fourth, Bishop Rose, refused to have a hand in it.

It is impossible to peruse this correspondence without admiration for the sturdy championship of the American cause displayed by Bishop John Skinner, Jr., of Aberdeen. Even when the Primus wavered by reason of an anonymous letter casting grave reflection on Seabury, Skinner was unshaken and eventually he carried his colleagues with him. It is also evident that, while the suggestion of a Concordate originated with the Primus, it was drafted by Skinner, as was also the letter to the Clergy of Connecticut. Later letters shed much light on the state of thought in this Church in the years 1785-1789, culminating in the adoption of the Constitution and the issue of the Book of Common Prayer in the latter year.

One thing should be added in justice to the memory of Samuel Seabury. These letters bear ample witness to his character at a trying period. As a result of intimate contacts Bishop Skinner formed a very high estimate of Seabury. He found him frank in answering questions even when of necessity they were very personal, and he carried himself with dignity. Bishop Skinner's letters to Mr. Boucher show that he had developed a strong respect and affection for Bishop Seabury, and a correspondingly strong interest in the welfare of the struggling Church in the Western world.

The first letter—which is a torn fragment—deals with the period of the first application for consecration. It reads:

Peterhead 11 Feb: 1784

"As to the Am: Candidate, I reckon that you would also hear that he waits a return of Letters from Am: before he can come to Sc. You propose when he comes, that One or two of our Number should be deputed to converse wth him before we meet for his Consecration; which I think very proper: And it is a Conference that will need to be managed with great Caution & Discretion; & therefore we should consider well before hand what we are to propose: and insist upon no thing, that can be dispensed with. It is my Opinion we ought to ask no Terms, or Bond of Union, but such an Agreement in Doctrine & Discipline, as that the Members of our Chh, when they have occasion to be in America, may wth freedom & safety communicate with the Chh under Dr Seabury there, & when the Members of that Chh happen to be here, they may do the same wth Us. If any thing farther occurs to you, I wish you would specify the particulars, & I will be ready to pay them all due attention. Indeed, if they concern his Orders, or any thing wth regard to the Bps of Eng. it would certainly be necessary he should be advised of these before he comes to Sc; lest he should not agree to what is proposed, & so expose him & us too."

ROBT. KILGOUR.

Here follow letters written at the time of Seabury's renewed application for consecration:

Bishop Robert Kilgour,
To
The R^t Reverend
Mr. Arthur Petrie
By Old Meldum

Peterhead 22nd Sept^r 1784

. . . . But the principal design of Mr. Allan's Letter was another Matter. He sent me inclosed a Letter from Dr Seabury to Dr Cooper,* the purport of which I need not tell you, as he said he was to send you a copy of it, which I doubt not he has done.

As Dr Seabury had been so long silent, I reckoned the Affair had been dropped; but as he accounts for his Conduct in so open & candid a Manner, I still think we should not deny his Request, but through him to convey to America a free & purely Ecclesiastical Episcopacy; which he seems convinced is better than that in England so shackled wth Erastian Principles. And I do not think any farther Declaration is necessary *for* him; but that he agree to put matters on such a footing, as that the Church there & here can freely communicate together in all the Offices of Religion. As he is urgent for our Answer, I beg to have your sentiments on this important Affair how soon you can."

Bishop John Skinner, Jr.
To
The R^t Rev^d Mr. Arthur Petrie
Meiklefollla.

Berrybank Oct^r 1, 1784.

. . . . "I have seen the renewed Application from Dr Seabury, & am very much pleased with it on the whole, tho' some particular Circumstances of it may not be altogether to our mind. We are not to expect everything just as we would have it. I am informed by the Primus that he has written you & Bp. Rose on the Subject & begged of you both to lose no time in transmitting your Sentiments to him, as it is to be supposed you are still of the same mind as when the proposal was first made, & you will see how much Dr Seabury wishes to have the Affair brought to a Conclusion as soon as possible. If he is invited to Scotland, as I hope will be the case, it will be proper that the Bps. have their minds made up beforehand, as to the Terms on which they will proceed to his Consecration & the Primus proposes, that there be a Concordate, some Bond of Union drawn upon Catholic principles, & subscribed by both parties, & likewise a Letter addressed to the Clergy in Connecticut.

*Rev. Dr. Myles Cooper, former President of King's College, New York.

And he hopes I will take both into Consideration, & make out a Scroll of them. As to the first, I believe some particular Form is necessary, and as I have not had much Access to papers of that kind, I am at some Loss to know what may be most proper on the present Occasion. It will be very obliging therefore, if you can furnish me with any helps in that way, such as the Concordate that took place in our own Church when the Division between the College & Diocesan Bps. was taken away, of which I do not remember ever to have seen a complete Copy. I am also of Opinion that some Assistance might be received from the Correspondence carried on between the Greek Church, & the British Anti-Revolution Churches, which I had the pleasure of glancing at last Summer in your house. I beg therefore that you will send me the Translation of these papers, by the very first Opportunity, as I have long wished to see them, & you may depend on their being properly cared for. I would likewise be glad to know your Opinion, as to the Way & Manner, in which we ought to mention the footing we are on with the established Church of England, & our Abhorrence of the Schism supported by her in this kingdom; And whether we should take any Notice of the distinguishing parts of our Eucharistic Service, & join a modest Recommendation of the Scots Communion Office. If it be very troublesome to you, to write your mind freely on these important Articles, as I know you are never the worse for a Ride, perhaps it would do as well, if you could favour me with a personal Interview for a Night or two, when we could talk over these matters at length, & sketch out something in the Way the Primus proposes. If you can grant this Request, & bring the papers above mentioned along with you, I will also beg a few Lines from you by Monday's post, to let me know when I may expect you, that I may not be out of the Way, but have everything ready for the purpose of our Meeting. I would not be so urgent on this head, if I did not look upon the business now in Contemplation as of the greatest Importance to the Honour & Support of our Church, & therefore would wish to See it conducted with becoming Dignity & Decency, & a suitable Attention to the various important Ends that may, with God's Blessing, be answered by it"

Bishop John Skinner, Jr.

To
The R^t Reverend
Mr. Arthur Petrie
Meikfolla.

Berrybank Oct^r 10th 1784.

R^t Rev^d & Dear Sir

According to my promise, I now send you inclosed Copies of the Scrolls I have made out for the proposed Con-

cordate, & Letter to the Clergy of Connecticut. I could not get them ready sooner, on account of sundry Avocations, & because I had Copies to transmitt to the Primus which I sent off by Friday's Post. The Articles of the Concordate might have been fewer in number, & comprised in a shorter Form, but I thought it well to branch them out, & enlarge them as I have Done, to give the Transaction the greater Appearance of suitable Gravity & Importance. Altho I have taken little or no Notice of the Established Church of England, for fear of giving needless Offence, yet I judged it necessary to mention the Schism supported by it in this Country, both because the honour & dignity of our own Church seems to require our publick Disapprobation of this Intrusion, & because there is reason to fear that the American Clergy, from their Notions & Connections, may be careless & irregular in this respect, if not Duely warned of the Danger of such Disorderly practices. If you think it proper to add or alter anything, in either of the papers, you can mark it on the Margin, tho indeed no Form can be absolutely fixed upon, till the other party be present, & his Consent obtained to the Several Articles.—I am sorry to observe, as I Suppose the Primus has informed you, that Bsp. Rose to be averse to the proposal, & very much prejudiced against Dr Seabury, chiefly because of his Intentions being communicated here, thro' the Channel of Dr Cooper: As if the Man could help his being once connected with the English Establishment, & for that reason be thought unworthy of any future connection with us. If all the Bishops of the Church were to act agreeably to the Notions entertained by his Rev^{ce} of Dumblane & Dunkeld, the Apostolic Succession I fear would soon be at an End. I am as averse as he can be to those Latiudinarian principles, which would widen the path of Life, beyond all bounds or measure: But at the same time, it shocks me to think of needlessly narrowing the pale of that Church, which its blessed Founder (Glory to his Name) designed for *All Nations*. I will be anxious to hear of Dr Seabury's Answer to the Primus's Invitation, which may be here in the Course of this Week. And if he comes to Scotland, O may the great Bishop of our Souls grant a happy Issue to the Auspicious Cause of his Journey."

Bishop Kilgour
To
The R. Reverend
Mr. Arthur Petrie
By Oldmeldrum.

Peterhead 27th Oct^r 1784

"I duly received your favours of the 17th & 22nd inst.
And having last week received a Letter from Dr Seabury,

a Copy of which I send you annexed; I have by this Post written to Bp. Rose, & sent him another Copy, & also a Copy of the proposed Concordate & intreated him to meet us at Aberdeen on Friday the 12th of November in the Evening, & urged his Presence by every Argument I could think of; not only that we may have his Advice & Concurrence in this very important Affair, but also have an opportunity of consulting more fully with regard to several matters, that call for consideration. . . .

This is, I think, the fittest day to meet upon, as it will oblige even Bp. Rose to be but one Sunday from home: & as I am hopeful, we will get all Matters settled with Dr Seabury upon the Saturday, we can proceed to his Consecration on the Sunday. As the Church requires, that the Consecration of a Bp. should always be on a Sunday, or Other Holy Day, so I think it is proper to be observed on this Occasion. And as no Holy Day is near; that we embrace the Sunday, & do all that with prudence we can, to add to the Solemnity of the important & sacred Action."

The Rev. John Allan

To

The R^t Rev^d

Mr. Arthur Petrie

Meiklefolla by

Old Meldrum.

Edin^r Oct^r 27 1784

. . . . "I presume your Rev^{co} will have seen by this time, a letter which I forwarded about ten days ago from Dr Seabury to the Primus: If you have, I doubt not but it will serve to corroborate the favourable sentiments which I am happy to find your Rev^{co} and R^t Rev^d Colleagues seem to entertain of that Gentleman—Indeed his letter to his friend Dr Cooper, and the other I just now mentioned, I cannot help being strongly prepossessed in his favour, and flatter myself the Bps. of this Church will have great Reason to bless God for the Opportunity now offered them of conveying 'a free, valid and purely Ecclesiastical Episcopacy to the Western World.' "

Bishop Charles Rose, addressed to

The Right Reverend

M^r Arthur Petrie

Micklefolla

. . . . "R^t Rev^d & Dear Sir.

I was favoured with yours Yesterday concerning Dr. Seabury's Consecration. . . .

You say that I have misunderstood Primus's Letters, but at a loss to know wherein, for he wrote to me in these

words, 'He is urgent to have our Answer Soon, and I beg to have your sentiments fully, that I might give it him.' Never imagining he would have Wrote to Dr. Seabury to come to Scotland before he knew my Sentiments, it surprises me not a little that he done so.

The great Objection I have to Consecrate him, is his own Letter to Dr. Cooper wherein he says 'with regard to myself it is not my fault that I have not done it before, but I thought it my Duty to pursue the Plan marked out for me by the Clergy of Connecticut, as long as I was a probable Chance of succeeding; that probability is now at an end.' You see by this paragraph, that had he succeeded in England, he would never sought after the Bp^s of Scotland. And how inconsistent is this Paragraph with the following; 'And I think myself at Liberty to pursue such other Schemes as shall ensure to them a Very Episcopacy, and which I take the Scottich Episcopacy to be ever since the Word, and such. I know Clergy of Connecticut considered, and always have done so. But the Connection that has always subsisted between the Clergy of Connecticut and the Church of England and the generous Support they have hitherto received from that Church, actually led them tho no longer a Part of the British Dominions to apply to that Church in the first instance, for

Now, if the Clergy of Connecticut had always looked upon Scottish Episcopacy as Valid why did not Dr Seabury get a recommendation to the Scotch Bishops, as well as to the English, nay rather to them, than to the English, for you see he has failed in England, I think he is judged very ill, for he says, 'there is no Chance of succeeding in England, and the Clergy of Connecticut will not apply to them, tho the Chance was never so good.' It is a great question with me if the Clergy, knew that there was an Episcopal Church in Scotland. Besides we have nothing but his *ipse Dixit* for all that he says, and the only recommendation he has is Dr Cooper and his own. And as I wrote to Bp Kilgour, that it would most mightly please both Dr. Aber and Mr. Strachen, for want of Bp. Kilgour's Presby had said that Mr. Strachen, by employing Dr. Bercley to officiate for him in Dundee, had broke the neck of the Political Schism and the Bp^s in Scotland would break the neck of the Religious Schism by Consecrating Dr. Seabury and Chime in with the Dr. and take the Oathes to the Government, whenever that great Event to which he alludes.

This is my real Sentiments of Dr. Seabury's Consecration, and it gives me Pain to Differ so much from my brethren.

When Dr. Seabury comes down, I think Bp. Kilgour may impower his Coagutor to assist him. He shall have

my allowance for it, and Doubt that you will give yours, for I cannot prevail upon myself to have any hand in it."

Rt. Rev. & Dear Sir,
Your very Affect^e Brother &
humble Son

CHARLES ROSE.

Down 26th Oc^{br} 1784.

Bishop Robert Kilgour, addressed to

"The Rt. Revd.,
Mr. Arthur Petrie,
Meiklefollla.

By favour of
Mr Shand.

"I take this Opportunity to advise you that this Day I received a kind of Remonstrance against the Consecration of Dr Seabury—The Nature & particulars of which I have not time to write you; but I intend to send it to Bp. Skinner by Morrow's Post, that he may send it, or a Copy of it to you. It gives me a good deal of concern, & may God direct us in this very important Affair. I ever am with best wishes,

Dear Sir
Yours very affect. Br &c
ROBERT KILGOUR.

Peterhead
6th Nov. 1784.

The Seller letter to the Primus read as follows:

"Inverugie, 6th Nov., 1784.

Right Rev^d Sir,—Last night came to my hand a letter from a school companion, now residing in London, dated 28th past, the substance whereof of which I was desired to communicate to you, but to conceal the writer's name till afterwards. He says—'Sunday last a Dr. Seabury, an American Clergyman, set out from London to Aberdeen with expectations of being consecrated, by Bishops Kilgour, Petrie, and Skinner, as a Bishop for the revolted Colonies in America, against the earnest and sound advice of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, to whom his design was communicated, they not thinking him a fit person, especially as he was actively and deeply engaged against Congress, that he would by this forward step render Episcopacy suspected there, the people not having had time after a total derangement of their civil affairs to consider as yet of Ecclesiastical and if it were unexpectedly and readily introduced among them at the instigation of a few clergy only that remain, without their being consulted, would

occasion it to be entirely slighted, unless with the approbation of the State they belong to, which is what they are labouring after just now, having called several Provincial meetings together this autumn to settle some preliminary articles of a Protestant Episcopal Church as near as may to that of England or Scotland.' After a long narration about Missions he then says:— 'If you value your own peace and advantage as a Christian Society see that your Bishops meddle not in this consecration, till they have corresponded upon it with the Archbishop of Canterbury, who will take it as an instance of great condescension and brotherly love, which on this occasion they will have a very favourable opportunity to shew—and I wish to God it may be productive of some immediate union, or better understanding, at least, between the two Churches than has subsisted since the Revolution.

But if no such correspondence can be opened, and a Bishop in season or out of season must be sent from Scotland, the only prudent way I humbly think is to send one of your own Bishops, which may be done with less danger and offence, and with more success, as he has been of no political party in that country, and where he would have no occasion to stay longer than he pleased, and would find the candidates for Holy Orders abundantly liberal, making him donations from 10 to 20 guineas each at least, and in the course of the first year he would have no fewer than 200 to ordain for the 13 States, to which, being an unprejudiced stranger, he might make himself of all others the most agreeable, and have sufficient encouragement. I need add no more, but with great deference submit the whole to the wisdom of your venerable Bishops, who, I doubt not, will act a prudent Christian part on this critical occasion. My bosom friend, your cousin, Dr. Smith,* is deeply interested in this affair, and I expect him here after the autumn meeting of the American clergy, with recommendations from the States of America to be consecrated a Bishop, but all his designs will be frustrated in case your Bishops consecrate

*The Rev. Dr. William Smith was born in Aberdeen, Scotland, about 1727 and graduated from the University in 1747. About two years after his arrival in America he was invited to take charge of the seminary in Philadelphia, which subsequently became the University of Pennsylvania. He was ordained in England in 1753, and in 1766 took charge of the S. P. G. Mission at Oxford, Pa. When the charter of the College of Philadelphia was cancelled by the Legislature in 1779, Dr. Smith removed to Chestertown, Kent County, Maryland, and established a classical school which was chartered by the General Assembly of Maryland in 1782, and named Washington College, and Dr. Smith became the first president. He was present at the organization of the Church in Maryland in 1783, on which occasion it received the name of "The Protestant Episcopal Church." In June following he was elected Bishop of Maryland, but was never consecrated. He was president of the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies in the early General Conventions, and, together with Dr. William White, was the compiler of the "Proposed Book" of Common Prayer. In 1789 he resumed his office as Provost of the College of Philadelphia when its charter was restored. He died in Philadelphia, May 14th, 1803, in his seventy-sixth year. In view of the severe strictures passed upon him in these letters it is just to say that he co-operated with Bishop Seabury in the adoption of the prayer of Consecration as contained in the Scottish Prayer Book.

Seabury, a man of strong passions and resentments, and Dr. Smith's avowed enemy.' He begs me to do all I can to divert a heavy stroke from the head of our common friend, as well as of Episcopacy, which is like to suffer thro' Seabury, and to advise him as soon as possible of the event that he may prevent the former coming over to no purpose in case Dr. Seabury is consecrated. . . . This letter was from an American Clergyman* whom my brother saw in Dr. Smith's brothers in London. . . .

I am, &c., &c.,
WM. SELLER."

The Primus forwarded this letter to Bishop Skinner, and in so doing wrote:

"I know not what to make of it; whether matters be as there represented; or if this be a manoeuvre to answer some view of Dr. Smith who has the character of a very ambitious designing man. If Dr. Seabury has applied to us contrary to the advice of the two Archbps: and if they are likely to take umbrage at us, I do not think Dr. Berkley, our professed friend, acts either friendly or fair. It would give me pain should there be any reason to entertain such an opinion of him. However, this remonstrance, tho' from a yet unknown hand, makes caution necessary; and I have sent it to you, that you may know the better how to deal with Dr. Seabury; to enquire of him what recommendations he has from America, how matters stand between him and the Archbps, and what else appears to you necessary from the enclosed information."

Bishop Skinner lost no time in replying. Under date of November 8th, he writes the Primus:

"Right Rev^d and Dear Sir,—I have the pleasure to acquaint you that Dr. Seabury arrived here on Friday night, and called upon me the next morning, so I could not inform you of his arrival sooner than by this post. The two last days he has been constantly with me, and we have had much serious conversation on the object of his journey. I have sounded him on all the various topics relative to it, and have met with all the satisfaction I could expect, and with much more candour and openness than I could well

*The Rev. Alexander Murray was S. P. G. missionary at Reading and Mulatton, Pa., from 1762 to 1778. He was a loyalist and took refuge in England in 1778. A staunch supporter of Dr. William Smith, he spared no effort to block the consecration of Seabury, saying it was not to be expected that the English bishops would consecrate him "upon the recommendation of a few missionaries in their obscure private capacity." (*Beardsley: Life and Correspondence of Samuel Seabury*, pp. 165-166.)

look for from a stranger at first sight. Impressed with these sentiments of him, and he being with me last night, when your letter came in, I immediately communicated the contents of it to him, guarded with assurances of confidence in his friendship, and that he would ingenuously impart his opinion on the subject of it. He seemed to receive the information with great composure, and with very little surprise, after he found that it proceeded from a partizan of Dr. Smith's, whose character and views we had been canvassing before, in talking of American matters. 'Tis seldom that anonymous information deserves much regard, but this which you have received appears with such evident marks of envy and malice as entitle it to nothing but contempt. That Dr. Seabury has come here against the advice of the two Primates of England, he openly acknowledges, and freely delivers their whole conversation with him on that subject; his part of which, when you hear, I am certain you will be delighted with it. But their *apparent* opposition is no more than what was to be expected, since the same State connection and restraint which hindered them from gratifying the wishes of the Connecticut clergy, would equally operate against their approbation of our interference in that affair. Hampered as they are, when officially applied to they do not speak according to their own feelings but according to the sentiments of those in power, whose language they are obliged to adopt. But from all I can discover I am convinced that Dr. Seabury stands high in the esteem of both the Archbps, and tho' they dare not openly approve, that they have not the most distant thought of resenting the step he is now taking; so that we may still rely on Dr. Berkley's representation of that matter.

As to the personal reflections which Mr. Seller's letter casts upon Dr. Seabury, when you once have seen but as much of him as I have done, I make no doubt of your agreeing with me that they are ill founded and malicious, and serve only to place his character in a more amiable light, when contrasted with that of his unworthy rival (for his rival he seems to be) Dr. Smith, a man of no principle, honour, or integrity, and who, by all accounts, would be a disgrace to the Episcopal character, a reproach to those however high in rank that would advance him to it. The proposal, too, which Mr. Seller's correspondent makes, of some of our number going to America, you will plainly see supposes us actuated by very mean and mercenary motives, and ought to be treated with that contempt which it deserves, as most indelicate and unmannerly: though it comes well enough from the bosom friend of Dr. Smith, and I dare say is very suitable to both their *feelings*. In a word I cannot help considering the whole of this intelligence as a mean and silly artifice of some enemy to Dr. Seabury who secretly envies us the introducing such a worthy man into America, in the character of a Bishop, a character I am fully

satisfied he is in every way qualified to support with honour to himself and all concerned with him. For if there be truth and candour in man I honestly declare I think it is in Dr. Seabury.

"Our last night's conversation naturally led to speak of his credentials, which he readily produced, and I perused with the most heartfelt satisfaction, to see a man so much admired, esteemed, and loved by his brethren. Would to God we had but a few such men among ourselves, and such unanimity, such cordiality, in our elections. In the name of our blessed Master therefore let us go on cheerfully with the good work recommended to us. . . . I have written Bp. P.* by this post as you desire, and by two letters I have had from him last week he proposes, God willing, to be here on Friday afternoon, when we will be likewise looking for you; and God grant you both a safe journey, and a happy issue to the pious and laudable object of it. . . . I am ever your most affect: bro^r

JOHN SKINNER, J^r."

On the same day and on the same subject Skinner wrote Bishop Petrie:

Bishop John Skinner Jr
to
The Right Reverend
Mr Arthur Petrie
Meiklefolla
Care of the postmaster
Old Meldrum.

"R^t Rev^d & Dear Sir

I had the pleasure of yours in the course of last week, & observe what you write about the proposed Alterations in the two papers, which shall be properly attended to. Dr Seabury arrived here on Friday night, & since Saturday Morning has been constantly with me, so that I have already had long & serious Conversation with him, & as far as I can yet judge, he will be found in all respects agreeable to our Wishes. He seems to be truly Pious in his Sentiments, fair, open & candid in his Disposition, & without any of that Duplicity, which too often marks the Characters of those, who have much to do with this designing World. Last night I had a Letter from the Primus, a copy of which he Desires me to forward to you. But as it is rather long & confused I shall give you only the Substance of it, & my own Opinion with respect to it. It is written by a Will Sellers at Inverugie to the Bp & is said to contain the Substance of a Letter he had received from an old School Companion in London who does not wish his Name to be yet known. This anonymous

*Bishop Arthur Petrie.

Correspondent informs Mr. Sellers that Dr Seabury has come to Scotland for Consecration against the earnest & sound Advice of the Archbishops of Canterbury & York, they not thinking him a fit person, especially as he was active against Congress, & therefore that his promotion would be ill received in America, & hurt the Cause of Episcopacy there: And that it would be particularly offensive & hurtful to the Writer's bosom friend, & Mr. Seller's Cousin, Dr. Smith,* who he expects will be over, after the Autumn Meeting of the American Clergy, with Recommendations from the States to be consecrated a Bp, but all his Designs will be frustrated, in case our Bps shall consecrate Dr Seabury, a Man of strong passions & Resentments, & Dr. Smith's avowed enemy. This is the Substance of Mr. Seller's Intelligence, & you may easily see it is the Manoeuvre of some partizan of that ambitious & turbulent fellow Dr. Smith, who has been long known to be a Man of no principle, a mere Weather Cock, with respect both to Church & State, & who from all Accounts, has no Chance of succeeding in his Selfish & ambitious Views. At any rate we need not pay the least Regard to this officious piece of Information, as you will see Dr Seabury comes to us, with the most complete & Satisfactory Recommendations, and indeed his own Appearance & Behaviour are so much in his favour that his Credentials appear with Double Strength, when corroborated by the Man's own natural Dignity of Mein, & Candour of Conversation. I have written the Primus by this post, my Opinion of the above mentioned Letter, & doubt not but that he will see it in the same Light as I do, tho' I can assure you every thing in it will be cleared up to your Satisfaction, by Dr. Seabury himself, when you meet here, which I hope God will enable you both to do, at the time proposed. We shall therefore be looking for you, on friday afternoon, & may our blessed Master, in his great power & goodness, make our Meeting acceptable to him, & conducive to the Interests of his holy & blessed Service. Accept of my earnest & best Wishes for your Health & Happiness, & believe me ever

Yours most affectionately

JOHN SKINNER, JR.

Aberdeen Nov^r 8th 1784.

Rev. John Allan, addressed to
The R^t Rev^d

Mr Arthur Petrie,
Care of Bishop Skinner
Aberdeen.

. . . . "How do you like Dr Seabury? I am highly pleased with him. He will fill the Episcopal Chair with

*Rev. Doctor William Smith.

great dignity and, I trust, shall be enabled to Pillar in the House of God."

I am with great Esteem
R^t Rev^d D^r Sir
Your Dutiful Son JOHN ALLAN.*

Edin^r Nov^r 9, 1784.

The letters following were written after the consecration of Bishop Seabury:

Bishop John Skinner, Jr., addressed to
The R^t Reverend
Mr. Arthur Petrie
Meiklefolla

. . . . "I had a Letter from Bishop Seabury about ten days ago wherein he beg'd to be kindly mentioned, with his best respects to the good Bishops Kilgour & Petrie & added 'when I forget them, I shall remember nothing.' I shall be anxious to hear of a safe arrival in London, for which place he set out on Tuesday last from Edin^r—as I was informed the other day, by a letter from Mr. A. Allan."†

I ever am

R^t Rev. Sir Your Affecte Serv^t
& humble Son

JOHN SKINNER, JR.

Aberdeen Dec. 13th, 1784.

The Very Reverend George Horne,
Dean of Canterbury, to
Bishop Seabury.

Cantby. Jan 3rd, 1785.

Dear Sir,

You do me but justice in supposing me a hearty friend to American Episcopacy. I am truly sorry that our cabinet here would not save you the trouble of going to Scotland for it. There is some uneasiness about it, I find since it was done. It is said you have been *precipitate*. I should be inclined to think so too, had any hopes been left of obtaining consecration from England. But if none were left, what could you do, but what you have done?—I will turn the Book business in my mind, but am apprehensive much cannot be expected, till we hear of the settlement of your church under you, in Connecticut. A letter will then have its

*One of two brothers in the ministry at Edinburgh.

†Rev. Alexander Allan, of Edinburgh.

weight with Public Bosies:—That God may bless and prosper in your hands this great work, is the fervent prayer of,

Dear Sir,

Your faithful & obedient servant,

GEO: HORNE.

The Right Reverend

Dr Seabury

Bishop John Skinner to Bishop Petrie of Merkle Folla.

Rt. Rev'd & Dear Sir:

As I know you will be anxious to hear of Dr. Seabury as soon as possible, I have the pleasure to acquaint you that last post brought me a most welcome letter from him which I am to send to Peterhead tomorrow as the Primus is equally desirous to hear of him, but have first copied the greatest part of it on the other pages of this sheet, from which you will see how anxious he is to carry on the good work so happily begun, in the most pious and primitive manner. With this view, as he so earnestly desires it, I am to send him copies of all the little Tracts, that have been published in our Church for some time past, and which he has little chance of meeting with in London. And if you have anything of this sort by you which you can easily spare, it will be obliging to send me them by first opportunity, as I intend to write him soon, and to transmitt these things to him as early as possible. The Sermon he mentions and of which he is to take 100 copies, is that which I preached at his Consecration, & which at his pressing request, & which with the approbation of the primus, I have consented to publish. It is just now in the press, & will be ready in a week or so. I am sorry to hear by people from your quarter, that your disorder still continues; God grant it may take a favorable turn before your strength be quite exhausted. All my family join in best wishes of the Season to you, and with my earnest prayers for the recovery of your health, I ever am,

R. R. Dr. Sir Your very affectionate

Brother & humble Servant

JOHN SKINNER, JR.

Aberdeen, Jan'y 4th, 1785.

The Rt. Rev^d Mr. Arthur Petrie

at Meiklefolla

To the Care of

M^r George Petrie Merch^t

Gallow-gate, Abdⁿ

“About a fortnight ago, I had the Honor of a very kind Letter from Bp. Seabury—and was happy to hear that he had arrived in London safe & in good Spirits,

notwithstanding the Severity of the Season, and that the important business which brought him to Scotland, had met with the Approbation of the English Prelates, particularly Dr Thurlow, B^p of Lincoln, a Brother of the Chancellor's; and a very stanch Churchman. He means to sail about the beginning of March, on board a Ship, called *Triumph*; Master, Cap^t *Stout*; Both very ominous Names. May God grant them a safe & prosperous Voyage, for Christ's Sake. Amen.
Edin^r 15th Jan^{ry} 17th, 1785.

Bishop Charles Rose, addressed to
The R^t Reverend
M^r Arthur Petrie at
Michlefolia

. . . . "It was luckie you was able to go to Aberdeen, to assist at the Consecration of Dr Seabury. I have not altered my Mind with regard to that affair, for I am convinced he would not have made any application here, if he could have got his Business Done in England, and besides he came to Aberdeen, without any recommendation from any Member of the Church of Scotland, neither such as he had, was it, addressed to the B^{ps} of Scotland, but to the English Bp^s. The Countenance is a very false glance, to judge of one's Disposition. The Primus wrote me after Dr Seabury's consecration to this purpose 'If be Truth, Piety, and Candor is in anyone, it is in Dr Seabury, it is true, We, did not caution him against Communion with 'the Church of England; we did not think it proper. It might have provoked him to do us hurt.' I really think if he was capable of doing such a base Action, he does not deserve the character you and Bishop Kilgour gave of him.

But it seems he has got with him, and I am still pleased I was not at Aberdeen, nor do I condemn any who differ from my sentiments.

I am Dear Sir

Your Affec^{te}

Brother & most humble Sev^t CHARLES ROSE.

Down 26th Feb^{ry} 1785.

Bishop John Skinner, Jr.,
To The R^t Reverend
Mr. Arthur Petrie
Meikelefolia.

Aberdeen, March 24th 1785.

. . . . "What do you think of the hypocritical part they* have acted in talking of Dr Seabury's Affair to Bp Rose? Because they knew that he was not altogether

*Some of the clergy in Edinburgh.

pleased with our Conduct in that Matter, to court his favour & gain him over to their side, they had the Effrontery (for what else can I call it?) to accuse the Bps of Want of Loyalty in laying hands on Dr Seabury, "who would pray for the States of America, which was as bad as praying for K. G." Could they possibly have been guilty of grosser Dissimulation, than by thus condemning the Bps for Doing what themselves most ardently wished, & seemed heartily to approve of? But it is a Disagreeable task to trace out the base Inconsistency of a Man, who has now for Years continued to disgrace & injure the very cause he pretends to support. I will proceed to a more pleasing Office, & give you a Copy of a most refreshing Letter, I received this day, & which I have been anxiously expecting, from our worthy Brother of Connecticut: first wishing you, & all your concerns a happy Easter, & assuring you of the earnest prayers of

Your ever affectionate Brother

JOHN SKINNER, JR.

Here follows the letter written by Bishop Seabury as he was about to embark for Connecticut.

"Gravesend, March 11, 1785.

Right Rev^d & Dear Sir

"The Box of Books & your Letter came Duly to hand & should have been acknowledged before now: but that I was unwilling to write, till I could with some Exactness, inform you of such circumstances as I wished you to know. Upon my coming to London from Scotland, finding from all Accounts that the Abps. were much Displeased with the Steps I had taken, I kept myself at a distance, that the first Impressions might wear off, & cool Judgement resume its Authority. But when the time of my departure approached, I went to take my Leave of them. They both received me with every Mark of friendly Attention; conversed freely & easily on the Subject—hoped none of the Consequences which they dreaded would happen, were convinced I had acted from the best Motives & beleived the same Motives had influenced the Scots Bishops, were sorry I had adopted the measure, but wished me & the Church in Connecticut Success & prosperity, & should be glad to hear from me, & they parted with me in the most affectionate manner.

From Dr. Berkley I received several Letters which I punctually answered. In them he found fault with the Concordate till at last I was obliged to say something in Explanation & Vindication of it. Since which I have received no Letter from him. The Articles relating to Communion, & to licensed Chapels* are what he censures. Upon

**When the penal laws forbade the Scottish clergy to gather a congregation of more than four people, some English bishops licensed chapels in Scotland.*

the whole there seems to me to be something odd in this Gentleman, & his conduct made me cautious of shewing the Concordate here, as I was not willing to get in any new Embarrassments, till I had got rid of the old ones. Dr. Horne* I have seen. He, I am confident, is pleased with what has happened, tho he saw the Copy of the Concordate you sent to Dr. Berkley. By the best information I can get, they are in a good Deal of Confusion at New York, & to the Southward in Ecclesiastical matters, by the Admission of Lay Deputies into their Convention. This Convention has empowered any two Clergyman to license Lay preachers, pleading Necessity in their justification. This consideration has induced me to change my Rout, that I may not be at N. York till I am perfectly acquainted with all Circumstances. I have therefore taken my passage for Halifax, N. Scotia in the *Chapman* Cap^t Dawson a stout Ship of 600 tons. By this means I shall see my Children who are settled in the new Province, & know what their prospects are, & shall from thence go to Boston, Rhode Island or New London, as opportunity shall offer. By comparing Circumstances I find the Expence will not be increased, & probably not more than a fortnights delay attend it, & I shall sit down more easy & quiet in my own mind.

For the honour of the Connecticut Clergy I ought to inform you that they sent Mr. Marshall† one of their number to the Convention at New York with a Letter of remonstrance against admitting Lay Deputies, or proposing to them to defer taking any Steps in regulating Ecclesiastical Matters, till they had a Bishop at their head, & could act under his Authority. But Dr. Smith's incessant struggles carried the Matter against their Letter. By Letters from Dr. Smith to his friends in London it appears that he proposes to Come to England this Spring with such Recommendations as he can get, & try his Influence with the English Bps. & Ministry. If he should fail, it is supposed he will visit Scotland on the same business. But he has set the clerical Character so low & subjected the Clergy to such Restraints from the Laity, that his Scheme, whatever may be his personal Qualifications certainly deserves no Encouragement. I expect from him every trouble that he shall be able to give me. But I shall endeavour to keep Straight forward in the way of my Duty, & leave the Issue to God's good Providence.

I am much obliged to you for printing your Sermon. My friends in London like it much. I have sent one to each of the Ahbbs, to the Bp of Oxford, & to the Bp of Chester, with whom at his own desire, I had an Interview, but he could not converse on any but general Subjects. One copy is also gone to Dr. Horne, & one to Mr. Jones. My friends, who are also your friends took 12 copies to distribute where

*The Dean of Canterbury.

†Rev. John R. Marshall, of Woodbury, Connecticut.

they thought they would do the most good. Many of them think 100 or 200 Copies would readily sell in London. If you should think of such a thing, you may write on the Subject to the Rev. Dr. Thomas Bradbury Chandler,* No. 10 John Street, Oxford Street, with the same freedom & security you could write to me. He thinks highly both of your sermon & of you. I expected your Bill would have found me, but it did not. I have left Orders with Mr. Allcocke to pay it. For the rest, accept my most hearty & unfeigned thanks, & believe I shall make the best use of every thing you have sent. Present my most affectionate & respectful Regards to my much esteemed friends Bp. Kilgour & Bp. Petrie. My heart attests the Attachment I have to them, whenever I think of them. I long to hear how they do: i. e. to know they are well. God preserve them long. . . . I must not forget good Mr. Jolly† & the other Clergy my friends.

From Halifax I shall write, if any Opportunity should present itself to Glasgow, or any port in Scotland. Accept, dear Sir, of my unfeigned Regards, & believe me to be with the highest Affection & Esteem

Your ever mineful Brother & obliged humble Serv^t

SAMUEL SEABURY.

Bishop John Skinner, Jr.,

To

The Revd

Mr. Boucher

Paddington

Epsom near London

Surrey.

“Rev^d & Dear Sir

Some time ago I wrote to your Acquaintance Dr Chandler, begging as a singular favour that he would be kind enough to communicate to me any Interesting Intelligence of our worthy friend Bp. Seabury, of whose Welfare & Success, you may believe, I will ever be anxious to hear. The good Doctor lost no time in making a most obliging Return to my letter, but informing me, to my great Regret, that his state of health was such as rendered a Sea voyage absolutely necessary for the Recovery of it, & that he was to sail in a short time for New York, obliged to leave the great Object of his coming to Britain unaccomplished. Pity were it that a Design so laudable, & so essential to the Interests of Religion in the new province should thus be set aside by reasons of State; without any other Impediment in the way of it. For although his Grace of Canterbury would not hear, it seems, of the Doctor's giving up his Claim to

**Cf. Hist. Mag., Vol. I, p. 64n.*

†*Consecrated Bishop of Moray June 24, 1796.*

the Nova Scotia Episcopate, but wished him to be in readiness to undertake the important Charge, whenever he might be called for, yet I am much afraid that Call will not be soon given, & that was only a Discrete Way of getting clear of the business.

With uncommon Attention to my Anxiety, after informing me of his intended Departure from England, & the Cause of it, Dr Chandler adds, that by his Migration I can be no Loser, if in his stead I will adopt for my Correspondent the Rev^d Mr Boucher of Paddington, of whom he gives indeed a most amiable Character, & what endears you still more to me, describes you as one of the most confidential friends of Bp. Seabury. As such I now gladly embrace the Opportunity of introducing myself to you, in hopes that by the time this reaches you there will be some Accounts of Bp. Seabury's Arrival in America, if it has pleased God to grant him a speedy & prosperous Voyage, for which, I doubt not, the prayers of many have been devoutly offered to heaven. He promised to write me from Halifax, if he found any Vessel there for Scotland. But as you will probably hear from him, sooner than I can expect, & oftener than he will have occasion to write to me, it will be doing me a very great favour, if you will be so good as to inform me from time to time, what Accounts you receive either from him, or of him, which you think will be acceptable to one, who loves & esteems him, & wishes his Success & Happiness, as I do. This is a Task, which I could not have presumed to put upon you, if Dr Chandler had not so kindly paved the way for it, & brought to my mind what I had heard Dr Seabury say of you, & particularly an Anecdote of your Mother, if I am not mistaken, which I have often reflected on since, as remarkable Instance of piety and good principles.

Our Amiable Friend, the Bishop of Connecticut will have many difficulties to Struggle with in the blessed work he has undertaken. And particularly what has been going on in some of the Southern* States, will, I fear, create no small Opposition to the Conscientious Discharge of his Duty. The busy, bustling President of Washington College, Maryland,† seems to be laying a foundation for much Confusion, throughout the Churches of North America; And it will require all Bp. Seabury's Prudence, & good Management to counteract his preposterous measures. I saw a Letter from him lately to a Clergyman of this Country, wherein he proposes to be in London as last month, & wishes to know what the Bishops of Scotland would do, on an application to them from any foreign Country, such as America is now declared, for a Succession in their Ministry, by the Consecration of one, or more Bishops for them. By this time, I suppose, he knows both what we would do, &

*The area outside New England.

†The Rev. Dr. William Smith.

what we have done, & perhaps is not ignorant, that as our terms would not please him, so his Measures would be equally disagreeable to us.

I have seen in the Gentlemen's Magazine various Strictures on the Subject of Dr Seabury's Consecration: and the Sermon* preached on the Occasion has been criticized by several hands, and some passages in it found fault with, as disrespectful to the English Bishops, & even to the Authority of the British Parliament. As the Author did not intend his Discourse for the Meridian of London, he was at no pains to adapt it to the notions that are cherished under the warm Sunshine of civil Establishment. 'Tis sufficient for him, if it meets with the Approbation of the truly wise & worthy, wherever they be, who look more to the things of Christ, than to the things of this World.

Accept of my best Respects, & believe me to be, with much Esteem,

Dear Sir,
Your very affectionate Bro^r
& humble Servant
JOHN SKINNER, Jr.

Aberdeen, June 25th 1785.

Bishop John Skinner, Jr., addressed to
The Right Rev^d
Mr. Arthur Petrie
Meiklefolla

Last Post brought me a Letter from the Primus, in which was enclosed a very agreeable packet from you, containing a Letter from the Clergy in Connecticut, & one covering it from Mr Peters formerly of their Number & still breathing the same pious & primitive Sentiments, which seem to animate, & I hope will continue to adorn, that venerable Body. I suppose you have been informed of the Letters from Bp. Seabury to some of the Edinburgh Clergy, & particularly of that dated Dec^r 26th last, in which he gives a pretty full, & indeed a melancholy account of the State of Ecclesiastical Affairs in the Southern Provinces, & how little prospect there is of an Union between them & the Episcopalians in the New England States. Bp. Seabury also mentions his having sent two pamphlets for me, by the way of London, which when they arrive, I hope will be accompanied by a Letter from himself, & give us the refreshing Tidings of his Welfare & Success. The Pamphlets, I imagine, are the same which I see taken notice of in the Gen'l Magazine for January which gives a full Extract of the Clergy's Address to Bp. Seabury & his answer, together

*This sermon was preached by Bishop John Skinner, Jr., the writer of this letter
Cf.: *Hist. Mag.*, September, 1934, pp. 195-209.

with a correct List of our Consecrations from the Revolution down to his own. The Address & Answer Chalmers has promised to put in the *Abd Journal*, as soon as he can find Room, & perhaps they will make their way into the other papers. I have enclosed Mr Peters' Letter to you and shall return the Connecticut Letter to the Primus, tho I think it should be more properly lodged with you, to be put in the public Register with the other papers respecting that Transaction which gave Occasion to it.

With the Continuance of my best wishes for your health & happiness

I ever am Your Affect^o Serv^t &c

JOHN SKINNER, JR.

Aberdeen March 11th, 1786.

Bishop John Skinner, Jr., addressed to

"The R^t Rev^d

Mr. Arthur Petrie

Meiklefolia.

pr favour of
Mr. Hacket.

. . . . "I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that I have received a very long & most acceptable Letter from the worthy Bishop of Connecticut, & have lost no time in transcribing a Copy for your Satisfaction, which you may keep by you, as I have enclosed it in this Letter, to go by the first hand. The pamphlets he mentions are not yet come to my hand; but I imagine they have got them at Edin^r as I see the very same piece advertized in this Day's paper, to be published at Edin^r the 31st of this month, & sold at C^{ds}—including, along with the other papers, the List of our Consecrations, which I hope will convince the public that there has been no chasm in our Succession, since the Revolution, as has been maliciously asserted by some of our Adversaries. I had returned the Connecticut letter to the Primus, but mentioned the propriety of its being lodged with you, along with the other papers; I suppose he will send it, the first time he writes."

Aberdeen, March 27th 1786.

The Rev. Alex^r Allan, addressed to

The R^t Rev^d Mr Arthur Petrie

at Meiklefolia

. . . . "A Copy of Bp. Seabury's last Dispatches to the Clergy in Edin^r would come to your hand in due Course; but I was a good deal hurried in transcribing in order to catch the Post, so that I did not find leisure to glance it over and correct mistakes—the purport of them, in general, would, I'm persuaded, give your Rev^o great pleasure, as it

shows that cordial Unanimity, that primitive Zeal and Fer-
vour, which seems to adorn the Characters, and give Life &
Spirit to the Measures of the Clergy of Connecticut.

I ever am

R^t R. D^r Sir

Your dutiful Son

& very humble Serv^t

Edin^r 11th April
1786

ALEX^R ALLAN.

Bishop John Skinner, Jr.,
To

The Rev^d Mr. Jona: Boucher
Epsom in Surry

by

London.

“Rev^d & Dear Sir,

Be so good as to accept my hearty thanks for your very Obliging Letter of the 31st of March, & the agreeable Intelligence it contains of our worthy friend in Connecticut. Much about the same time, I had the pleasure of receiving from his own hand a very full & most acceptable Account of himself & family, as well as of his Ecclesiastical proceedings: And to hear of all these in the kind and condescending manner in which he writes, was most refreshing to one, who loves and esteems him as I do. The additional Intelligence you convey, particularly that which respects the generous conduct of his friends, gives me great Satisfaction, & may be considered as a happy proof of the kindness of that gracious Providence, on which the good Bishop has cast himself both for time, & for eternity. I own it affected me much to be told, that the Society in England had discarded him, & all their Missionaries in Connecticut, ‘a punishment,’ he says, ‘I presume, for the Step they & I have taken;’* & he adds, ‘this has hurt us much in mind, as well as interest.’ No wonder that they should be hurt, & express their feelings as they have done, on the thoughts of being *punished* for doing, what was no more than their duty to do, especially by those whom it would have become better, to have encouraged & cherished them in the Discharge of that Duty. But this is a delicate Subject, & I have already, it seems, given Offence, by writing too freely upon it. At present however I write to one, who, I hope, will make allowance for the Effusions of a heart which wishes to be unspotted from the World, & tho’ unacquainted with the politics of Courts, is warmly interested in the Cause of ‘pure & undefiled Religion.’ ”

*The Charter of the S. P. G. restricted its operations to the British dominions. When the American colonies became independent the S. P. G. could no longer support missionaries in America.

I would be glad to know how I may write & Direct to the worthy Bp. of Connecticut. And as you mention his good Friend Dr Chandler, it will make me happy to hear, that he has found benefit from the Sea Voyage, & got his health reestablished. Long may you, & these amiable Characters enjoy the Comforts of sincere & lasting Friendship.

I remain, Dear Sir, with great Regard,
Your affectionate Bro^r &
faithful Servant in Christ

JOHN SKINNER, JR."

Aberdeen May 17th 1786.

Bishop John Skinner, Jr.,
to
the Rev^d Jonathan Boucher.

Aberdeen June 15th 1786.

. "The intention of my writing you so soon again is to inform you, that I lately received a very polite Letter from Dr. White of Philadelphia, (President of the Episcopal Convention held there in October last), together with a printed copy of a Journal of their proceedings,* & two Sermons preached on the occasion, one by Dr. Wharton, the other by my Countryman Dr. Smith, on the introduction of their *new Liturgy*. They are on a very different plan from that of our worthy friend Bp. Seabury, & his Clergy, & seem to accomodate their principles not so much to the primitive pattern, as to the Whims of modern Refinement. Full of those Republican Notions which have brought about their boasted Revolution, they are now about to erect an Ecclesiastical Commonwealth on the ruins of Episcopacy, & while they affect to retain the Order, or rather the name of Bishops, are debasing the Institution, & bringing it down almost as low as Presbyterian Parity. I cannot think their Scheme will be much relished in England, unless it be among the Dissenters, & am much surprised that they published their wild undigested plans, before they had made good their point with the English Bishops, & got that mongrel Sort of Episcopacy set up, which they seem desirous to obtain. I should be glad to see this amended Liturgy of theirs, & would be obliged to you, if you could help me to a Copy of their new Prayer Book as there are, no doubt, some to be found about London."

Your very affectionate Bro'

& humble Servant

JOHN SKINNER, JR.

**The General Convention of 1785.*

Under date of July 3rd, Mr. Boucher answered as follows:

"Bp. Seabury's Address is, To the Right Rev^d Bp. Seabury, in New London, Connecticut. If you cannot meet with a Mercht Ship bound for that Part of the World, You may write every Month, by the New York Packquet w^c sails on the first Wednesday of every Month. In this case, you must pay not only the Postage to London, but one Shilling for the Packquet.

I am sorry, it is not in my Power to furnish You with a Copy of the new fangled Philadelphia Liturgy; having seen but one, & that in the hands of the Archbp; nor can I hear of another in England: but I will continue my Enquiries.* This is the more mortifying to Me, as I feel myself so exceedingly obliged to You for your very excell^t Lectures. I express myself with Reserve, when I say only, that they are the best of the Kind, & for the Purpose you intend them for, that I know of & I think I perfectly subscribe to every Posⁿ advanced in them, even to the Doctrine, now out of Fashion, w^c You justly, tho' not now first, found on y^e Article of y^e *Communion of Saints*, & on w^c, if I live, I have some thoughts, more fully to discuss, some Time or other. In Your sixth Lecture alone you lay much Stress on some Points, which I need not tell you, tho' I have formerly read the Controversy on both sides, I do not quite think so highly of. Your most acceptable Book I am forwarding to Bp. Cartwright to lend it to Him, as I know he will be much gratified by it: & I now also, agreeably to his Request, send you his last Letter to Me. The Dean of Canterbury shall also have his Book with all speed."

I know Mr. White;† & I think somewhat better of Him, than I do of his Compeers: but beware of them all. You see, our Bps. are making themselves ready to comply with their Request by obtain^g an Act to enable them to consecrate Persons not in the King's Dominions. Yet, I see no reason at present, induc^g Me to think, that any of y^e prest^d Candidates will be consecrated here.

I am with the sincerest Respect, Sir,

Y^r most obed^t & very humble Sev^t

JONA^T BOUCHER."

Bishop John Skinner, Jr.,

to

The Rev^d Mr. Jo. Boucher

Epsom in Surry

London.

. . . . "I have been now for some time waiting with a little Impatience for a Letter from the good Bishop

*The reference is to the "Proposed Book" of Common Prayer tentatively adopted at the General Convention of 1785, and subsequently superseded by the Prayer Book of 1789.

†William White, later first Bishop of Pennsylvania.

of Connecticut. His last to me of March 2nd, 1787, mentioned the Anxiety of his Clergy to have a Coadjutor appointed to him, for fear of their falling under the Southern Establishment, which they then considered as a Departure from Apostolical Institution.* They therefore proposed the Sending over one to Scotland for Consecration as soon as they knew that the Measure would be agreeable to us. I lost no time in communicating this proposal to my Brethren, who after being informed of what has passed at Lambeth in february last year,† agree with me in Opinion that provided the Analogy of Faith, & the purity of Worship be preserved, it would be a pity to interrupt Episcopal Union in any part of the Catholic Church: That we had reason to hope for a proper Coalition among the Bishops of Connecticut, Philadelphia & New York; in which case, Consecrations for the future could be canonically performed in North America, without putting any of their Clergy to the trouble of crossing the Atlantic. To these & such like Considerations, we added the Necessity of turning our eyes to our own Situation, which, tho' it affords no Excuse for shrinking from Duty, will yet justify our not stepping beyond our *Line* any farther than Duty requires; & concluded with expressing our fervent Wishes, that there may be no Occasion for two different Communion among the Episcopalians of the United States.‡ To the Letter conveying this account of our Sentiments, I have not yet got any return, but am hopefull it has given no Offence to our Brethren in Connecticut, who may believe we will ever be ready to contribute as far as is necessary or incumbent on us, to the support of primitive Truth & Order in the Church of Christ."

With great Esteem,

Rv^r Sir

Your affect humble Serv^t

JOHN SKINNER, JR.

Aberdeen Feby 21st 1788.

To the R^t Rev^d M^r John Skinner.

New London, Connecticut, Nov. 7, 1788.

Rt. Revd. & my very dear Sir,

I hope you will forgive my long silence. I really knew not what to write to you, such has been & is the uncertain

*At a meeting of the Connecticut clergy held at Wallingford on the 27th of February, 1787, the Rev. Abraham Jarvis was elected bishop and deputed to proceed to Scotland "to obtain consecration that the Episcopal office might be canonically conferred." It was intended "to obtain the canonical number of bishops in New England of the Scottish line, and thus preserve a purely primitive and Apostolic Church, holding fast the form of sound words, and the faith once delivered to the saints." (Beardsley: *Life and Correspondence of Samuel Seabury*, pp. 293-294.)

†The consecration of Bishops William White and Samuel Provoost, February 4th, 1787.

‡The Scottish Church was on the eve of appealing to the English Archbishops for their aid in securing a repeal of the Penal Laws.

state of Ecc^l matters here. The Bps. White & Provost. especially the latter, seem to value themselves so much on their English Consecration that I fear no great cordiality is to be expected from them. I have proposed a union of all the Churches, at least so far as to admit each others Clergy & Communicants. I fear it will scarcely take place unless we adopt their book & lay delegates. The People here dislike their book, & the Clergy will have nothing to do with laymen in Ch^h Government. This made me anxious to have another Bp. in this State, that we might stand on even terms with them. Bp. P—t goes so far as to affect to doubt the validity of my Consecration & orders—seriously, if he has any sense, he cannot do it: But it serves for a ground for party. I have written to Bp. Drummond on the subject, & wish to have the succession of the Scotch Bps. from 1661 to the time they were vased from their temporalities, & Presbyterianism established. The public papers have announced that the Epis^l Clergy in Scotland now pray for the present King. I hope it is true, & flatter myself it will free them ere long from many embarrassments. I shall still pursue measures for uniting with the Southern Ch^{ches}, & shall acquiesce in any terms consistent with sound Ecc^l principles: but I cannot give up what I esteem essential to Ep^l Government by admitting Laymen into any share of it, further than the external or temporal state of it may require. But to subject a Bp. to the censure of a consistory of Presbyters & Laymen, even with a Bp. at their head, I cannot consent. From that thralldom the Ch^h in Connecticut must, if it please God, be preserved.

Your lectures I have redde with great pleasure, & most heartily thank you for the copy you sent me. I wish we were in condition here to take a large number of them; but our poverty is a bar to many schemes we should otherwise pursue to benefit our Ch^h. And yet we talk of establishing a Clerical library, that we may have the _____ of the primitive Ch^h, the controversial writers against the Papists & Dissenters at our command. The battle for Episcopacy must be fought over again in this country. I have sent Bp. Drummond for you a copy of a letter on that subject from one of our Clergy to Dr. Stiles, that you may see how we are like to go on. We are also endeavouring to establish an Episcopal Academy or College in this State, that we may have the education of our own Clergy. We hope to reach 14 or 1500 £ Sterling, by subscription. If we succeed we shall get it going in the course of next summer, & flatter ourselves that by good management it will support itself, especially as we purpose to make it a general School for fitting young Gentlemen for the various occupations of life.

We have now 16 Presbyters in Connecticut, & four Deacons, who will be put into Priests orders in the course of six months. That will be nearly as many Clergymen as the

State of the Church will enable it to support. But to reduce the Church people, many of whom are converts from Presbyterianism, & not always from the best motives, to good order, & make them Church people indeed is an arduous task, & I fear will exceed my ability. The late commotions in the country introduced a disregard to all principles except those of party, & it is not easy to do good to people who think all religions equal, because the next step is to think no religion as good as any. Patience & perseverance will, I hope, in time, do what a sudden effort cannot accomplish. I shall do my endeavour to impress on them a true idea of Christs Church, its government, & doctrines—what I most fear is my own judgment & prudence with regard to times & measures.

I have sent, merely as a testimony of my regard, a few copies of a Charity Sermon I preached in Boston, to Bp. Drummond,* some of w^{ch} he will transmit to you & my friends in your neighbourhood.

The Rev. Mr. William Smith† is now resident about 45 miles from me, but not in a situation beneficial to himself. The Southern country was injurious to his health, & there is nothing here to be had worthy of his attention, so that he purposes to return to Scotland in the course of the next year. I heartily wish to keep him in my neighbourhood, for he would be very useful to me in bringing our people to a better knowledge of the real principles of their Religion, & to more submission to Ecclesiastical discipline.

Please to present my most respectful and affectionate regards to our venerable Primus, Bp. Kilgour—Remember me also to Bp. McFarlane‡ & Lady, to Mr. Jolly, & particularly to your Lady & children. I often think of them with the best wishes, & warmest affection.

If you have an opportunity to write to me by the way of Boston, a letter directed to the care of the Revd. Mr. Samuel Parker Rect^r of Trinity Church, Boston, will come surely to me.

The distance I live from New York & Boston renders it difficult to keep up such a correspondence with my friends in Scotland as I could wish. Mr. Evert Bancker Ju^r No. 3 Fair-Street, New York, will forward any letter or packet to me. Accept my best wishes, my dear Sir, & believe me to be your most affectionate Bro^r & very hum^e Serv^t

SAMUEL CONNECT.

Unless other documents come to light, these additional letters seem to be the last word on the Seabury consecration.

*Bishop of Brechin. Consecrated September 26, 1787.

†Author of the "Office of Institution."

‡Andrew McFarlane, Bishop of Moray. Consecrated March 7, 1787.

A CHAPTER FROM THE INDIAN TERRITORY

STORY OF THE INDIAN TERRITORY MISSION

By J. B. Wicks

IN 1874 Captain R. H. Pratt received orders to select ninety of the Indian prisoners then held at Fort Sill, I. T., and take them to St. Augustine, Florida, there to be held as prisoners until further orders. They were prisoners for three years. During that time the humane officer in charge adopted many devices to better the condition of the captives. They were taught to care for their quarters, provide their firewood, and a little later a company was organized and thoroughly drilled which eventually did all the police work of the post. The people of the city became interested in them, and classes were formed and taught by volunteer teachers until the end of three years, when the order came to return them to their tribes, many of the younger men could read and write and had made some progress in other studies. The larger number of the young men elected to remain at the East and continue their studies. Four of these were taken by Mrs. Mary D. Burnham, then a Deaconess in charge of the House of the Good Shepherd, Syracuse, N. Y., and with the consent and hearty approval of Bishop Huntington brought to the Diocese of Central New York and placed in charge of Rev. J. B. Wicks, rector of St. Paul's Parish, New York. Their advent in this little parish among the hills was almost the event of its history. It was in May, 1878, and the people kept holiday in honor of the occasion.

Mrs. Burnham, who had taken the charge, planned a three-years' course of study and training. With the assistance of many friends the means to carry forward the work were provided. Mrs. Burnham's place in the entire enterprise was a large one. Her faith, zeal and perseverance were inspiring to all connected with her. Bishop Huntington gave his heartiest sympathy and assistance and the clergy and people throughout the diocese of all religious bodies became greatly interested.

The names of the young men were: Oakerhater, Making Medicine, Okstei, Shave Head, Zotom, Biter, Taawayite, Distant Voice. They were baptized by Bishop Huntington, receiving names in the order

given above: David Pendleton Oakerhater, John Wicks Okstei, Paul Caryl Zotom, Henry Pratt Taawayite. They were named after friends at the East who were interested especially in the work.

They soon accommodated themselves to the new surroundings and settled down to a three years' course of study. Farming and the use of tools at the carpenter's bench they readily learned. There was no more difficulty in restraining and directing them than is met with the same number of white persons. They were members of my family for the entire three years and formed the strong attachments that persons do under such conditions. Bishop Huntington confirmed them in 1878. At the end of two years John Okstei was taken sick. We sent him home with a party that was going to the Territory after children for the Hampton School, where he died a few weeks later. During the time they were with me, archery was popular in our section of the country. A demand arose for bows and arrows and the boys responded to it, earning over \$300 by thus employing their leisure time. In the winter of '80 and '81 missionary meetings were held in several places in Central New York, at which both David and Paul made excellent addresses, and offerings were received for the work of more than \$100. In June, '81, David and Paul were ordained in Grace Church, Syracuse, by Bishop Huntington and the same day we started on the long journey to the Western home.

On June 10th we reached Caldwell in Kansas, the terminus of the railroad at that time. There we were met by Bear's Heart, one of the returned Florida prisoners, with a large covered wagon drawn by four ponies. Laying in the necessary supplies, we left civilization the next morning and pushed out on the broad plains that stretched away for a hundred and twenty miles to the headquarters of the Cheyenne Agency at Darlington. The journey consumed four days and was filled with new and most interesting experiences. The boys were going home and were merry-hearted. The missionary was going from home, to a strange place and people, and only knew of the merry heart as the Master led and blessed. It being warm weather, we slept on the ground soldier-like. The prairie wolves held nightly concerts, which we rather enjoyed. Our only discomfort was another kind of concern furnished by hordes of mosquitoes and reinforced by sharp strokes that weren't conducive to balmy sleep. I found the Indian way was to roll up in the blanket, endure the heat, and defy the mosquitoes.

June 12th, Trinity Sunday, 1881, we held our first service in the Territory. It was a beautiful day and at the noon halt we gathered under the lee of the large wagon and marked the day with prayer and praise. A little flock of antelope looked wonderingly on from

the ridge half a mile away, while the prairie dogs chattered and scampered about—the children of the audience. On the 14th, we reached the Agency and were heartily greeted by a great assemblage of the Indians and all the white people then residing there. Agent Miles and his clerk, Charles Campbell, gave large welcome to the missionary and during all our three years' stay rendered every assistance in their power.

Our first days at the Agency were busy ones. New scenes and faces were everywhere. To get into touch with the diverse elements of the great field as quickly as possible was the aim of our early efforts. The field itself extended over all the western portion of the Territory, comprising the two large Indian reservations known as the Cheyenne and Arapahoe, and the Kiowa and Comanche. I quickly learned that my relation to the young men I had had with me, in my own family, gave me a certain and strong kinship with the entire tribes they represented. One of my first experiences was the cordial embracing of the chiefs, near of kin to David and John, and a sort of tacit adoption into the fellowship of the tribe.

On the Sunday following our advent at the Agency, I was at the Cheyenne Government School. There I met the relatives of John Okstei, the young man who was sent home and died. The mother and sister came into the room, and the moment they saw me they lifted up their voices in the wild lamentation peculiar to the Indian tribes. It was my first acquaintance with the custom and sufficiently startling so that I felt a decided relief when the wailing ceased. I had the opportunity and pleasure of speaking to the school and to quite an assemblage of the older Indians. In the evening I was at Fort Reno holding service in the Adjutant's office and beginning an acquaintance with officers and their families and the men, which grew into warm friendship. Major Randall was then in command of the post and I found him exceedingly kind and helpful in all my work—in fact, at the military posts Reno and Sill I was received most cordially and given every assistance that could be rendered.

The week following our arrival the Cheyennes opened their large medicine dance five miles below the Agency on the Washita river. I was invited to attend and meet the old associates of David and make a talk to them, as they termed it. I learned that David held a prominent place in his tribe, having led a company of young men with high courage in the chase and more signally in war. Some thirty of them were living and waiting to meet us on the high ground just back of the great medicine lodge. As we crossed the broad field upon which the lodge stood we saw the entire tribe, old and young,

gathered about the dancers. As they swayed to and fro in the excitement, the half-naked and hideously painted dancers would flash on the vision like weird creatures of another world. The great drum was sounding and the monotonous chant of such occasions keeping time with it formed a scene worthy of a place with the witch dance of Macbeth. We crossed to the high ground where stood four or five lodges. There were about fifty of the men and double that number of women and children. It was my first acquaintance with an Indian council and only through David's guiding hand was I able to meet its peculiar requirements. At the proper time I made my address and was answered by two of the young chiefs, Sand Hill and Mad Wolf. But the feature of the occasion was David's address, which although delivered in Cheyenne, seemed almost clear to me from what I knew of the man.

He afterward gave me a resume of it, at my request, and its Christian spirit appears in every line.

"Men," he said, "you all know me. You remember when I led you out to war I went first and what I told you was true. Now I have been away to the East and I have learned about another Captain, the Lord Jesus Christ, and He is my leader. He goes first, and all He tells me is true. I come back to my people to tell them about Him, and I want you to go with me now in this new road, a war that makes all for peace, and where we never have only victory."

The effect of the address was striking and I felt only a true man could talk out of his heart life in such a manner.

I found at the Cheyenne Agency missionaries at work, but none at the Kiowa and Comanche. The Mennonites were in the field with several workers and had established and were conducting a school. The Friends also were represented by one missionary, though their work was not long continued. We held services at the schools and the military posts, also at the camp, making it a point to reach the children as strongly as possible. In every direction we were most cordially received and soon extended our acquaintance to a wide circle of new friends. Agent Miles was then in charge of the Agency and he and his chief clerk, Charles Campbell, were most helpful in every way during my entire stay in the field.

Early in July I made a short visit to the lower Agency, receiving the same cordial welcome that I had at Darlington. Agent Hunt and his brother, Mr. George Hunt, who was then Superintendent of the Kiowa School, and Mr. Calmes, in charge of the Wichita School, teachers and employes gave large welcome to the missionary. The services at the schools were largely attended and the beginnings of the work full of promise.

During my first visit at Anadarko I accepted an invitation to ride out to the camp of Otter Belt, a Comanche chief, and dine with him. Henry Taawayite was guide on the occasion, also interpreter. The day was ablaze as July is heated in that region, but the occasion was one of interest and value to the mission. Otter Belt was then one of the principal war chiefs of the Comanche tribe, and as fine a specimen of physical manhood as I ever saw. He had a cheery bright manner and was one of my warmest friends during my stay in the Territory. On this occasion he had invited several of his friends to meet me and the talk through the day seemed inspired by the utmost good feeling. The five wives of the chief served dinner and for the little they had to do with it was well prepared. While the day and dinner seemed but a passing incident, I found later that it opened the way to a relation of good fellowship with the entire tribe.

As at Darlington so here I held services at the Government Schools and in the Indian camps with good attendance always and apparently growing interest. The Superintendents and teachers of the schools gave every assistance in their power and I found myself welcome in all the homes of the Agency as it had fallen to me at Darlington. I visited Fort Sill and spent part of the week and one Sunday there, holding services in the little post chapel and baptizing several children. While there I met Horace Jones, a celebrated scout and interpreter of that region. His interest in the welfare of the Indians was lifelong and had been recognized by his red brethren through adoption into several of the tribes. His knowledge of Indian customs and ways was proverbial and I found him a faithful friend and invaluable help in all my work in that section. Many of the officers at the post were most friendly and helpful. The post trader, Captain Musser, and his good wife always had a room and candlestick and table ready for the missionary and made their home his during his stay.

Returning to Darlington the regular work of the mission was pushed forward during the remainder of the warm season. A class of bright girls and boys who had been in school three years were specially instructed preparatory to baptism. Services were held in every place where the people could be gotten together,—in the school houses, at the post, in the teepees, and out on the scattered ranches. There was much sickness that fall and many deaths, especially at the camps, and I attended a number of funerals. The first of these was a child of Big Horse, a Cheyenne chief. The burial with Christian rites seemed strange to the Indians, but the frequent repetition of the service familiarized them with it, and soon led them to ask it whenever members of the tribe died in any of the camps near the Agency.

On the wide plain just south of the Agency buildings at Darlington we erected a large tent, where we held services regularly on Sunday afternoons. It was near the little house in which Wolf Robe, the chief of the Indian police, lived. We gave it the name of the Tent Church and it was usually crowded at all the services. At one of the services David's mother was baptized. At another Bishop Pierce was present and preached the sermon.

During the summer and fall I took several long journeys, visiting various parts of the reservation, seeking closer knowledge of the widely differing conditions of the field. In the winter (January 22, 1882,) the class of children which had been under instruction during the summer and fall were baptized. The names of the persons baptized are as follows:

Minnie Little Elk, Jennie Agnes Blackkettle, Susie Anna Bent, Amelia Leah One Wolf, Nira Alice Living Bear, Cora Floy Pegleg, Mary Clara Long-Tortoise, Bessie Bell Bird-Chief, Minnie Lottie Bigman, Susan Irene Little-Robe, Mabel Lula Buffalo Meat. Boys: Robert Burns Tall-Bull, Frank Billie Wolfrobe, George Whit Bigback, William Rob Blackhorse, Rouse Jean Porcupine.

They were all children that had been in school several years and members of the Cheyenne tribe. The service was held at the Government School and largely attended by the Indians, the white employes at the Agency and the officers and their families from Fort Reno.

March 2nd, 1882, I returned to Anadarko and two days later drove through to Fort Sill. A week spent at the post was a most busy one. There was now a wide circle to call upon and with services, baptisms and calls every moment was occupied. The little chapel was crowded at the services and in the homes of the officers, and the quarters of the soldiers the welcome to the missionary was as bright and cheery as heart could wish. Col. Guy V. Henry was then in command of Fort Sill. In every way possible the Colonel furthered the mission work and his good wife seconded all his efforts. At this visit I purchased an old store building which stood at what was the old headquarters of the Agency. It was a large building, finely constructed of excellent lumber. The cost was \$300. Later it was taken down and moved to Anadarko, forming the material for the erection of the little church which was built there, making the entire cost of the structure about \$1000.

October 19, 1881, I baptized at the Kiowa School the following named persons:

Below Cozad, William Payee, Henry Choodle, Joseph Chandler, Thomas Ekoodlesee, James Wooderharvey, Frederick Zoaye, Peter

Kaunkeapto, Harry Zonkah, George Mopope, Frank Bosee, John Darlap, Edward Tiyboe, Lewis Tofponie, Newel Doahbonie, Horace Tananti, David Karshay, Joshua Keardly, Charles Zotom, Mary Kantodle, Adelaide Ganglemah.

All of them having been in school three years and under instruction preparatory to baptism during the summer. They belonged to the Kiowa and Comanche tribes.

I returned to Darlington as the Spring months drew on. While at Anadarko I baptized Mr. George Hunt, the superintendent of the Kiowa School, and a little later he took charge of the missionary work as lay reader. In May I returned to my home in New York, after a year's absence, every part of which had been crowded with work.

The summer was spent in making the necessary preparations for returning with my family and in presenting the work in many parishes at the East. I visited Washington and saw the Indian Commissioner touching title to property in the Territory. I was at Carlisle several times where quite a number of the children of the reservation were at school, and everywhere was received cordially, much interest being evinced in the work.

In September we returned to the field, occupying the small mission house I had built at Darlington. Work was resumed and the members of my family quickly found their hands full with a variety of duties. I took several long trips into distant parts of the reservations, visiting the Indians in their camps, many of whom had made some improvements in the direction of farming and civilization.

A school for white children was established at Darlington and well patronized. In October, 1882, Bishop Pierce made a visitation to the Agencies and had several in different parts of the field. He confirmed at the Cheyenne mission house at Darlington on Sunday, November 5th, fifteen boys and girls. The service was largely attended and most impressive. The following Sunday, November 12th, he confirmed nine at Anadarko. A week later he confirmed Mrs. Henry, wife of Col. Guy V. Henry, commander of Fort Sill. The visit of the Bishop was enjoyed by all and productive of much good. In the fall of '83, I took charge of the large Indian school at Anadarko and also opened a school for whites in the new Church building which we had erected there. Mr. George W. Hunt took charge of this, doing most excellent work. In the following winter my health failed so that I was compelled to give up the work. In the fall of '84 I resigned the charge which I had held three years. The number of baptisms during the three years were: At Darlington, 33; at Anadarko, 33. Confirmed: At Darlington, 15; at Anadarko, 9; at Fort Sill, 1. A mission house was built at Darlington

and a small church at Anadarko. Two years later in the summer of '86 I spent the month of June in the old field, holding many services at the Agencies and the military posts, baptizing quite a number of children. Since then I have only touched the work by letter. I can truly say that the field and work were very dear to me and that the large and exacting duties required were a constant delight until failing health compelled their relinquishment.

THE REVEREND ANDREW FOWLER

1760-1850

By E. Clowes Chorley

THE REV. ANDREW FOWLER was born at Guildford, in the State of Connecticut, on the 10th day of June, 1760, and was a descendant of John Fowler, who settled there in 1650. In this same town was also born Samuel Johnson, first President of King's College, New York. At the age of nineteen he entered Yale a strong and convinced Presbyterian. He had been in College but a few months when he joined the Church and became a lay reader.

In the latter half of the Eighteenth century the burning question in religious circles in America was the nature and organization of the Church, and the point around which controversy raged most fiercely was the necessity, or otherwise, of the Episcopate. The fight waxed exceeding bitter, and it produced an endless array of books and pamphlets. In the year 1711 an agent of the colony of Connecticut in London sent over eight hundred books, among which were the works of strong Anglican writers like Hooker, Chillingworth and Usher. These were in the Yale Library, and they attracted the attention of Andrew Fowler, who promptly sought permission of the President to read them.

The request unwittingly revived memories of the darkest day in the annals of New England Puritanism. Fifty-seven years before a little group of Yale professors and ministers, including Timothy Cutler, then President of the College, had studied those same books. Their studies convinced them that "they were usurpers in the house of God," and they announced their intention of applying for Holy Orders in the Church of England. Little wonder that the President, with such memories, promptly refused the request on the ground that the books in question were "dangerous." Possibly the refusal stimulated the young student's desire; at any rate they were obtained elsewhere, and as a result of their perusal, Andrew Fowler became a Churchman. In 1783 he graduated from Yale, and moved to New Rochelle, where he kept a school. He was ordered Deacon by Bishop Provoost in S. Andrew's Church, Staten Island in 1789, and was ad-

vanced to the Priesthood by the same Bishop in S. Paul's Church, Eastchester, one year later. His first parish was Christ Church, Oyster Bay, and in 1792 he became rector of S. Peter's Church, on the Manor of Cortlandt, and S. Philip's Chapel in the Highlands, Garrison. The Minute of the Vestry recording his call to the parish reads thus:

They did then agree with the Rev. Andrew Fowler to officiate as Rector of the Church and Chapple for one year, and they do promise to pay him for his service the sum of seventy pounds current money of New York, and have likewise agreed with John Bashford for the house which he now lives in until the first day of May next, and to give him the sum of five pounds for the same, and they do further agree to put Mr. Fowler on the Glebe farm the first day of May next.

New York currency was two and a half dollars on the pound, so that the stipend was \$175 and a house. On the sixth day of January, 1793, he was formally inducted into the rectorship of the united churches. The following year Mr. Fowler was re-engaged for another annual term at a salary of eighty pounds, the Vestry further agreeing to repair the house and build a barn. It was also arranged "that both parties do agree to give each party three months warning previous to leaving or dismissing." A little later a minute records a complaint of the Rector "that the church at Peekskill had neglected to discharge their part of the first half year's salary."

In those days the growth of the Episcopal Church was not regarded with favor by the Puritans. It is a matter of public record that during the Revolution the Presbyterians attempted to take the church on the Manor of Cortlandt by force. Mr. Fowler seems, however, to have maintained cordial relations with his ecclesiastical neighbors, as witness the following correspondence with Rev. Silas Constant, the militant Presbyterian minister of Yorktown.

Reverend Sir,

It is a rule in the Church to which I belong, that no minister not even one of our own Denomination, shall preach at any time in our Churches without liberty is first obtained of the Rector—Nearly the same rule I suppose is observed among the Presbyterians or Congregationalists, and as I feel an inclination to preach a sermon in Crown Pond within a short time, I therefore beg the favor of your Meeting House when it does not interfere with your own appointments for that purpose. A line in answer to this will oblige,

(Your) friend and honorable servant,

ANDREW FOWLER.

to which courteous request Mr. Constant replied:

Reverend Sir,

I received yours intimating your willingness to preach in this neighborhood, and I shall note your direction and give notice to the congregation. The Meeting House will be opened without objection, and hope your appointment will be when I can attend, if week day, if on Sabbath it must be when I preach at Peekskill,

Yours in sincerity,

SILAS CONSTANT.

His rectorship of S. Peter's and S. Philip's terminated in the Fall of 1794, and he removed to Bedford, N. Y., where he ministered for one year. Removing to New Jersey, he labored at Shrewsbury, Middletown and Spottswood. A list of the New Jersey Clergy in 1798 shows him as "Minister of S. Mary's Church, Coles Town, on contract for one year only." Philadelphia was the scene of his work for one year, and his last charge in the North was S. Michael's, Bloomingdale, then a country place on the far outskirts of the city of New York.

In 1806 Mr. Fowler removed to Charleston, S. C., where the real work of his life was done. I have been fortunate enough to discover three unpublished letters written by Mr. Fowler at this period which shed much interesting light upon his career. Writing under date of February 15th, 1807, to John Henry Hobart, then assistant minister of Trinity Church, New York, he says, "After I left New York the first place I went to was Wilmington, N. C. At this place I met with a Clergyman by the name of Halling,* who is one of the most pleasant and agreeable men in the world." At Wilmington he was detained five weeks awaiting a ship to Charleston. When he arrived at the latter city he found that the parishes had already made their arrangements for the year, but under the date of January, 1807, "I am elected Rector of S. Bartholomew's Church, Edisto Island, the property of which I am to be put in possession of next Winter. The living consists of a plantation with sixteen negroes; the pew rents are not less than four hundred dollars, and it is the general opinion that the whole, including what will be raised by subscriptions, cannot amount to less than two thousand dollars."

**Rev. Solomon Halling, Rector of St. James' Church, Wilmington, N. C., 1795-1809, was a native of Pennsylvania and a surgeon in the Continental Army during the American Revolution. He was ordained deacon by Bishop Madison of Virginia for North Carolina in 1792. As minister of New Berne in 1793 and 1794, he took part in the attempted organization of the Diocese of North Carolina and in the election of Rev. Charles Pettigrew as Bishop of that State in 1794. He removed to South Carolina in 1809. (See De Rossett's Church History in North Carolina, and Dalcho's History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina.)*

A later letter sheds interesting light on climatic conditions: "It is a great misfortune that the inhabitants are obliged to leave here, and move off to some considerable distance during the sickly months. As the heat increases, the country is filled with noxious vapors, and it will be ten o'clock in the morning before you can see the Sun for the fog." He adds, "I have never enjoyed my health better: I have eleven Communicants, and have baptized eight children."

With Charleston for a center he was in "labors oft" for forty years. His death occurred on the first Sunday after Christmas, 1850, and he lies buried underneath the chancel of old S. Michael's Church, where his son, Rev. James Fowler, also rests in God.

Such was the life—as men see it, of this devoted Priest—

"Told in outline, and no more."

Andrew Fowler was a great Missionary.

Therein lies his right to be classed with the immortals. The American Church has never properly developed the service of the laity, but she used them more in her early than in her latter days. Andrew Fowler was as zealous a missionary when a layman as when he was a priest. For seven years he was a devoted lay reader. In the Autumn of 1779 he became a churchman, and almost immediately "commenced reading prayers and sermons under the direction of the Rev. Bela Hubbard at West Haven, three Sundays in five; and at New Haven in 1782 he read prayers and sermons for the same reverend gentleman two Sundays in five. These circumstances commonly took place in the same manner till he graduated, though sometimes he read prayers elsewhere in his native State, he having the President's leave to do so."

About 1783 he came to New Rochelle where, he says, "I was principally engaged with a school."

In 1693 there was passed in the New York Assembly an Act for the Settlement of a Ministry. That Act provided for the maintenance of ministers in New York city, and the counties of Kings, Queens, Richmond and Westchester. For the latter county two ministers were provided; one to be stationed at Rye, the other at Westchester. Although persistent efforts were made to capture the provision for a Puritan ministry, the potent influence of Governor Fletcher secured it for the Church of England in the Colony.

The first missionary of the Church appointed under this Act in Westchester County was the Rev. John Bartow, formerly Vicar of Pampsford, Cambridgeshire. He was appointed to Rye in 1702, but through the influence of Colonel Caleb Heathcote, took up his resi-

dence at Westchester, where there was already a wooden church with neither desk, pulpit nor bell. Two years later the Rev. Thomas Pritchard, a Welshman, took charge of the work at Rye, where, there being no church building, he preached in the Town House.

From these two centers the county was evangelised. In 1703 Mr. Bartow visited Eastchester and held occasional services, which resulted in the entire body of Presbyterians conforming to the Church. In the same year he went to Yonkers, where services were conducted in a private house and sometimes in a barn. From Rye the Rev. George Muirson reached out to Bedford, where he preached every fourth Sunday, and found them "a very willful and stubborn people."

In 1724 the Rev. Robert Jenney held services at White Plains and officiated eight times a year at Mamaroneck, and the same year he extended his work to Northcastle. A notable addition to the strength of the Church was the adhesion of the French Huguenot congregation and minister of New Rochelle in 1709.

As time went on an effort was made to evangelise the northern section of the county. The manuscript records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel show, that as early as 1744, the Rev. James Wetmore, of Rye, conducted church services at Peekskill. Writing on April 3rd, 1746, he says:—"That as there are great numbers of people in the wilderness northward of Bedford and Westchester, who have very little knowledge or sense of religion, Mr. Lamson's labors will be employed to good purpose among them." The Rev. Ebenezer Dibblee of Stamford, Ct., who traversed the same district in 1761, "found no settled teacher of any denomination, but met several heads of families, professors of the Church of England, and many others well disposed towards it." His companion on the same journey, Mr. St. George Talbot, reports:—"The state of religion I truly found deplorable enough; they were as sheep without a shepherd, a prey to various sectaries, and enthusiastic lay teachers; there are many well wishers and professors of the Church among them, who doth not hear the liturgy in several years."

The War of the Revolution disrupted, but did not destroy, the work of the Church in the county. The tradition that the clergy did not sympathise with the aspirations for liberty, dies hard. The truth is that they, as well as the laity, were sharply divided in opinion. Bishop Seabury was a tory of the tories; Bishop White was the trusted friend and adviser of George Washington; and that line of division ran throughout the Church. The public, however, did not discriminate; to profess and call oneself a churchman was to incur suspicion and often experience personal violence. From nearly every parish in Westchester County the clergy were driven out; the

churches in Yonkers, Peekskill, Rye and Westchester were closed, and some of them were converted into military hospitals. Nor did the clergy escape. The Rev. Luke Babcock, Rev. Epenetus Townsend and Rev. Samuel Seabury were imprisoned, and the Rev. Ephraim Avery, of Rye, lost his life.

When Andrew Fowler came to New Rochelle the War was over, but the Body of Christ was grievously maimed. The clergy were scattered; the churches closed and the flock of God were as sheep without a shepherd. England ceased to send out missionaries, and there were no American Bishops, and consequently no ordinations. To Andrew Fowler the Church's extremity was his missionary opportunity, and he set out to gather the sheep again into the fold.

He writes in his Journal: "At the close of the War I collected the congregation at Rye and at White Plains . . . Began at Rye the first Sunday in April 1784, and at White Plains the Sunday after." In 1786 he extended his efforts to Yonkers, of which he writes: "The congregation had been broken up by the War, and was for sometime destitute of a regular pastor. The Rev. Mr. Babcock died sometime before the peace took place. I read sermons and prayers there with great pleasure, and never saw any other conduct there than that which was truly christian and pious. I could go there but occasionally, as I was then principally engaged as a lay-reader at New Rochelle." From New Rochelle he removed to Long Island and served as lay reader at Brookhaven, Oyster Bay and Huntington.

The South was the principal scene of his missionary labors. In 1811 he resigned the rectorship of S. Bartholomew's parish and became an itinerant missionary for the rest of his life. For some time he labored at Columbia, S. C., where he "collected a considerable congregation of the best and most respectable citizens who attended public worship with great devotion." To him also belongs the distinguished honor of presenting the first class of candidates for the Apostolic rite of Confirmation in the diocese of South Carolina on March 30th, 1813. In July, 1821, when Spain ceded Florida to the United States, the American residents of St. Augustine organized Church service, and in October Mr. Fowler took charge of the work and remained until May, 1823.

Andrew Fowler was a great Churchman.

We who live in the Twentieth Century, when the Church has reaped all the finer fruits of the Oxford Movement, have little idea of the laxity of faith and effort which characterized the Church in America in the earlier years of the Nineteenth Century. When Andrew Fowler went South he wrote to the Rev. John Henry Hobart: "I conversed with Mr. Halling upon the state of the Church, which he

tells me is deplorable. I find that the idea of Episcopacy is but little esteemed among either the Clergy or the people. They think it no matter what religion a man is of, provided he be honest."

The attitude was typical of the times. The era of aggression had not begun. The missionary motive was yet unborn, and the Bishops were content with small achievement. The Church was apologetic. But "there was the sound of the wind in the tops of the mulberry trees." In the city of New York there lived and labored a man to whom the American Church was to owe a new life. John Henry Hobart—not yet a Bishop—was dreaming dreams and seeing visions of a Church alive to her splendid heritage. He was the apostle of a new catholicity which blazoned upon its banner the motto, "Evangelical Truth and Apostolic Order;" the able and intrepid champion of the Church of God. Under the inspiration of his leadership apology gave place to aggression. Wise before his time, Hobart foresaw the tremendous power of the printing press and used it to the full in the circulation of books and tracts expounding and defending the nature and organization of the Church. Andrew Fowler was in the fullest sympathy with Hobart's purposes and methods. In season and out of season he sought to open men's eyes to the glories of the Catholic Church, and he was shrewd enough to see that the most effective method was the circulation of Churchly literature.

His five weeks' enforced stay in Wilmington was used to extend the influence of the Church. He writes to Hobart: "I was invited to dine out every day while I was at Wilmington; it gave me a great opportunity of advocating the Church, and my friend Halling told me that I had been of great service to him among his own people."

He adds, "I find that there is nothing wanting to make the Church flourish in this State but half a dozen good Clergymen and a few small tracts on Episcopacy, Baptism and the Lord's Supper."

The few books he had with him were quickly exhausted; "I had a copy of your *Companion*, one copy of your treatise on *The Festivals and Fasts* . . . these I was obliged to give away as some of my friends were so desirous to have them; it was a pity that I had not had many more. I wish, friend Hobart, that you would send me on a copy of the Canons of the Church, and some other small tracts which you may have it in your power to send gratis." How the literature was welcomed and used is seen in a further letter:—"Part of the pamphlets I have this day forwarded to Dr. Halling, and the remainder I shall distribute among the members of my own parish as they stand much in need of them. The life of Dr. Johnson I have had six days, and it has been read through by nine persons already."

Amid his manifold missionary labors Mr. Fowler found time to

AN
EXPOSITION
OF THE
BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER,
AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE
SACRAMENTS
AND OTHER
RITES AND CEREMONIES OF THE CHURCH, &c.
ACCORDING TO THE USE OF THE
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH
IN THE
UNITED STATES of AMERICA.

BY ANDREW FOWLER, A. M.
RECTOR OF CHRIST-CHURCH SHREWSBURY, AND CHRIST-CHURCH
MIDDLETOWN, NEW-JERSEY.

BURLINGTON, N. JERSEY,
PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR, BY S. C. USTICK.

1805.

[COPY-RIGHT SECURED.]

make some notable contributions to religious literature. He was the author of *An Exposition of the Book of Common Prayer: A Catechism of the Church* and *An Exposition of the XXXIX Articles*.^a The estimate in which these works were held may be gathered from the address of Bishop Moore to the Diocese of New York, in which he says, "October 14th, 1807. Two hundred copies of Fowler's Exposition of the Liturgy of the Church, purchased by Trinity Church, to be distributed throughout this diocese."

One other debt we owe to Andrew Fowler. He made a notable contribution to the History of the Church in America.

Scattered in parishes throughout the land are materials of priceless value to the ecclesiastical historian of the future, and to that material Mr. Fowler added permanent value. At the instigation of Bishop Seabury he gathered materials for *Biographical Sketches of the Clergy*, and twice walked from Charleston to Connecticut in search of materials. Writing to the Rev. Edmund Rutledge, a professor in the University of Pennsylvania, he says: "I have long since wished to see some Memoirs published of our Clergy, who are now dead and gone, and such indeed was my desire for it, that I actually made a considerable number of sketches for that purpose. On this occasion I applied to my brethren throughout these States, and to many other members of our Church, but with but little success."

Those persons who have been so ready to believe that the early clergy were men of loose morals would do well to weigh the testimony of this investigator: "I found the names of more than one thousand ministers of our Communion before 1820, the most of whom are now dead, and have left behind them a good character. Indeed I found less bad characters than I had been led to expect."

In the same letter he adds: "I have often thought, and still do think, that a weekly paper, consisting of one sheet, and an octavo

a. The other known publications of Mr. Fowler were:—

1. *A Short Introduction to Christian Knowledge*, designed particularly for the use of the Protestant Episcopal Church at East-Woods, Oysterbay.
New York, 1792.
2. *Hymns*. New York, 1793.
3. *A Sketch of the Life and death of Mrs. Hannah Dyckman, King's Ferry*.
Danbury, 1795.
4. *The Lessons of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America; . . . with an explanation of all the Sundays and the principal Holy-Days throughout the year*.
New Brunswick, N. J., 1798.
Second Edition, Charleston, 1838.
5. *A Form of Morning and Evening Prayer*. Compiled for the use of an Academy.
New York, 1802.
6. *Short Instructions for those who are preparing for Confirmation*.
Charleston, 1813.
7. *A Sermon, upon the word Amen, Revelation XXII. 21*. Delivered in S. Michael's Church, Charleston, Feb. 7th, 1813.
Charleston, 1835.
8. *A Short Account of the Rise and Progress of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the City of S. Augustine, East Florida*.
Charleston, 1835.

form, might be made most useful and pleasing to our people, containing historical narratives, wherein the origin of our parish churches and other circumstances relating to them, with sketches of the Clergy might be given in order to enable the historian to furnish a correct view of our ecclesiastical state in this country."

He lived to a great age. On the feast of S. Thomas, 1850, he reverently received the Holy Communion and died the Sunday after Christmas aged ninety years and seven months. An obituary notice says of him:

It may be truly said of the departed that he was a great missionary. In five or more of our Dioceses he officiated for more or less time; but the greater part of his ministerial life, that is about forty years, was passed in South Carolina. He was first missionary of our 'Advancement Society,' and first missionary of 'the Society for Missions of Young Men and others,' instituted in Charleston, which was intended to act out of the diocese, and which continued until the 'General Missionary Society' superseded the use of it. The Churches now flourishing in Columbia, Choran, S. Augustine and Wadesborough were planted by him. The old parishes of S. Bartholomew's, Edisto Island and Christ Church, each of them for several years found the benefit of his ministration. Few more industrious men, physically, mentally and socially have ever lived. 'These hands,' he could truly say, 'have ministered to my necessities and those who were with me.' Into the garden, the field, the orchard, the vineyard and the forest, he went—not for recreation, or to gain wealth, but to supply the deficiency of an inadequate salary; for he coveted no man's silver or gold, or apparel. More contentment, with the allotments of Divine Providence; more confidence in God, as respected himself and his family; more meekness in his intercourse with men; more resignation in sickness, sightlessness, adversity, bereavement and the last conflict, I have not witnessed. He had a son intended for Holy Orders; much care was bestowed and expense (involving serious self-denial) on his education. It was finished with credit at one of our chief colleges. The youth was now competent to provide for himself, and was just about to become a candidate for the ministry, but he died. It was a trial, met by his aged father in the temper of faithful Abraham, and with the resignation of holy Job.

Such was Andrew Fowler—scholar, writer, priest, missionary.

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN CHURCH

LETTER OF REV. ROGER VIETS, 1767

By William A. Beardsley

IN THE JUNE ISSUE of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE there appeared an interesting sketch, by the Rev. W. H. Stowe, of the Rev. Abraham Beach, which was accompanied by a series of his letters. Perhaps the letter herewith appended may be of interest. It was found among some old papers which recently came into my possession. With it was a newspaper clipping which showed that nearly sixty years ago it received for the first time such publicity as might come to it from being printed in the columns of the daily paper. It would seem as if it might have a more permanent record than that.

The letter was found in 1832 in an old house in New Haven, Conn., which had formerly been occupied by the Rev. Bela Hubbard, who was the rector of Trinity Church, that city, from 1767 till the time of his death, December 6, 1812.

Doctor Hubbard was one of that loyal group of clergymen working in Connecticut at the time of the Revolution, and very likely was one of the ten who met in Woodbury, March 25, 1783, and selected Seabury to go abroad for consecration. His ministry in New Haven was abundantly blessed, and it was largely due to his faithful and devoted labors that the Episcopal Church gained such strong footing there.

The writer of the letter, Roger Viets, was at the time working in Simsbury, Conn., as a missionary of the Venerable Society. He, too, may have been one who helped to select Seabury. He was a native of Simsbury and a graduate of Yale in the class of 1758, as was Hubbard. As a loyalist he had his troubles, and "after much reflection, resolved to abandon home for the wilds of Nova Scotia."

A parish had been formed at Digby, and in 1786 he accepted the rectorship of it, and held that position until he died in 1811. Some years ago when I was at Digby the rector showed me his grave in the churchyard unmarked by any stone. There is in the possession of a resident of Digby a portrait of Viets, which, while it still gives the likeness, yet is much the worse for the ravages of time.

The letter referred to at the outset is as follows:—

Simsbury Octob^r 19th 1767.

Worthy, rev^d Sir

I have not yet found Time to finish copying the Piece which I promised to send you; however, I have begun it and hope to finish and convey it to you within a few Weeks; perhaps when you shall see it you will think the Subject bad or trifling, perhaps think the Performance mean, or the Arguments sophistical; if you think either of these the case I can't help it; all I can say is that the Affection & Esteem, which I deservedly have for you induced me to write it as well as I could.

I shall take as a Favor that you will become acquainted with Forward,* Hilyer,† and Cossit, Collegians, the two latter educated in the Church, the former a good Friend, all three worthy young Gentlemen and likely to become useful to our Fraternity.

It would perhaps be well to invite these Young Gentlemen to your Lodgings, when you have Leisure and confirm them (especially Cossit & Hilyer) in the Principles of the Church and encourage them to lead the rest of their Lives according to their good Beginning; you will find them tolerably knowing according to their Age and Advantages; and should it please God to bring them safe to their first Degree I shall be glad to get them immediately recommended for holy Orders, which makes it necessary that some of my Brethren should be acquainted with them.

Our Bro^r Abr^m B—ch is returned safe. The first Sund. after his Return he went in the Forenoon to the South-Hartford Meeting in the Afternoon to the North (a fine Improvement of his Time!) when he might have gone to Church at Middletown 14 Miles or to Simsbury 10 Miles. He has now been in Hartford more than 3 Weeks, but has not visited his Classmate Peters,‡ or Your Classmate Viets, but has taken much Pains to visit many Dissenters; indeed I would not blame him for visiting Dissenters, would he give some Share of his Time to his own Brethren. Br^r B—ch has many good Properties but in these Things he cannot be commended. We cannot hope to see a Church built at Hartford 'till a worthy Set of Men rise up who will not go to hear Dissenters preach, nor have any Thing to do with Dissenters; and whether M^r B's Conduct is promotive of such laudable Zeal, judge Thou. M^r B's good, moderate Temper, penetrating Genius & remarkable Scholarship make one the more sorry that he cannot be more sincerely & earnestly engaged in the Cause of the Church.

*Abel Forward, Yale, 1768. Became a Congregational minister. d. Jan. 15 1786.

†Andrew Hillyer, Yale, 1770. Followed a military career. d. Feb. 2, 1828.

‡Samuel Peters, Yale, 1757.

I flatter myself that You will make very good Progress in your holy Function at Newhaven, & will have the Happiness to see your Congregation increase. I wish and desire & pray (if it be not too meddling) that your good Parishioners may be persuaded to keep both their Glebe Houses.

I hope the next News I hear from you will be that you are happily married; Therefore, wishing Yourself, your Spouse and all your Friends God's Blessing

I remain
Rev^d, good Sir
Your most loving Bro^r
And humble Serv^t
Roger Viets.

Rev^d Bela Hubbard
N. Haven

For twenty-nine years Dr. Beach rendered distinguished service as Assistant Rector of Trinity Church, New York, and that in spite of the ecclesiastical indiscretions of his youth.

TENNESSEE. Knoxville.

From the Report of the Rev. John H. Norment.

"April 1st, 1833. My labours in this place commenced with the month of January last.

Since the removal of the Rev. Mr. Davis, which took place about five years since, this congregation has maintained a merely nominal existence, having had in that period of time but few opportunities of attending Episcopal worship, and never sending a delegate to the Convention. We found at first, great difficulty in procuring a temporary place of worship, and in consequence of which, it was intended to solicit donations from our brethren at a distance, and erect a substantial church edifice. A plan was accordingly adopted, and an estimate made of the cost; but failing in some pecuniary resources of our own, upon which he had relied, we concluded that it would be impossible to effect the object of our wishes, and the contract with our architects was, for the present, abandoned.

During the month of January, we held occasional services in the Methodist and Presbyterian churches; having been kindly invited to do so by their respective pastors. We have now an upper room in the Court-House of this place neatly and comfortably fitted up for our purposes, in which we have two services every Lord's-day, and a Sunday School composed of the children belonging to the congregation. The number of those who attend our services continues gradually to increase; the congregations are serious and attentive, and the peculiarities of our worship appear to be well received on the part of many who have for the first time become acquainted with them. We have not yet had

the Lord's Supper administered; but there are about ten persons who desire to receive that holy sacrament, now known to me. There may be many more when the time for the administration arrives.

This location I consider an important one, as it affords a key to all of east Tennessee, of which it is the metropolis. Could we only procure funds enough to erect a small but permanent church, and to support a faithful missionary at this residence, I should soon expect to see every populous village in this beautiful mountain region, with its parish church and regular services. It will be recollected also, that this section of Tennessee was originally settled prior to the Revolution; but among the emigrants at that early period, it is not known that there were any calling themselves Episcopalians. If there were any such, their secluded situation, and the little hope of ever enjoying again their own communion, induced them to yield their attachments, hallowed as may have been every association, and to connect themselves with the denominations then existing around them. It may be reasonably expected, that if the Church is ever permanently established in this section of the country, the descendants of such families will return to its altar, and gladly sustain the faith and worship of their forefathers. It is expected that at a future day this place will become quite a commercial one. It is already accessible to steam-boat navigation, and possessing a population of two thousand souls, having two Presbyterian and one Methodist Church, a College, and flourishing Male and Female Academies. We have at the present time no Episcopal congregation nearer than two hundred miles—this being the only congregation in the eastern section of the state.

I take pleasure in recording my thanks for the hospitality which I have received in this place, and in bearing my testimony to the zeal and piety which characterize the communicants of this small congregation. Their walk and conduct is such as becometh Christians; and while the excellency of the Gospel is shewn forth in their lives, the hands of their ministering servant have been strengthened, and his heart encouraged, by the recollection, that those whom it is his privilege to serve, are rich in faith, and heirs of eternal life, through the redemption of Christ Jesus. I have to add one more to the numerous calls for Prayer Books and Tracts, of which we suffer a lamentable deficiency. Recently, however, the mites of the congregation have been collected, and for the aggregate, humble as is the beginning, we shall soon receive a box of Prayer Books, Church Almanacs, and Sunday School Books, sufficient for six months hence. We are already in possession of a partial supply of Library Books, &c., from the Depositary in Nashville. A few periodicals of our Church are taken—I regret to say, none as yet of *The Missionary Record*, a truly invaluable periodical to every churchman."—*The Missionary Record*, May, 1833.)

BOOK REVIEWS

A HARVEST OF HAPPY YEARS. *The Addresses Delivered on the Fortieth Anniversary of the Consecration of William Lawrence as Seventh Bishop of Massachusetts. Symphony Hall, Boston, October 5th, 1933. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1933. Pp. 74.*

IT has fallen to few bishops of this Church to have so long, so useful and so varied a career as that of William Lawrence, who celebrated the fortieth anniversary of his consecration on October 5th, 1933. This little volume enshrines the addresses given on the historic occasion when Boston of all classes and creeds rallied to honor its first citizen. Here are the speeches of Lowell of Harvard, Endicott Peabody of Groton School, Ellen F. Pendleton of Wellesley College, William Fellowes Morgan of the Church Pension Fund, and the Presiding Bishop. These are followed by the felicitous reply of Bishop Lawrence himself. It is a comparatively brief but comprehensive review of the material and spiritual changes of the sixty years from the Bishop's student days to the present time. It is characteristically optimistic. While frankly recognizing the increasing power of material forces, Bishop Lawrence also rejoices in the quick response of the younger generation to the call of the spirit, the power of the will and the sacredness of the individual. The address closes with a very striking confession of personal faith. In days to come when the historian sets forth the development of religious thought and life during these sixty years, he will not be unmindful of this record of a man who has seen the old order change and has found in the new order inspiration and freedom.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

THE EMMANUEL MOVEMENT, 1906-1929. *By John Gardiner Greene.*

THIS REPRINT of an article from *The New England Quarterly* sketches the birth and development of the Emmanuel Movement under the direction of the Rev. Doctor Elwood Worcester. It

is based partly upon the books written by Dr. Worcester and Dr. McComb, and partly upon information personally imparted by others directly associated with the movement. The facts are clearly stated and the sources are adequately noted.

THE REVEREND THOMAS BRAY. *By Edgar Legare Pennington. Philadelphia. 1934.*

PUBLISHED by the Church Historical Society, this pamphlet begins with a sketch of the career of the Rev. Thomas Bray, commissary of the Bishop of London in the province of Maryland and the originator of the early libraries of the colonial period and who first suggested the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge which was established in 1699. To this is added an account of Bray's work in Maryland.

TRINITY CHURCH IN THE CITY OF BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS, 1733-1933. *Boston. Printed for the Wardens and Vestry of Trinity Church. 1933. Pp. 219.*

AS far as it goes this is an excellent History of the two hundred years of life of one of the best known and most famous parishes in the American Church. It has obvious limitations. The Vestry determined to publish a book which would present an interesting picture of parish life, and this purpose has been fulfilled. The first chapter, dealing with the "Beginnings," written by the Clerk of the parish, Dr. J. R. Bracket, sketches the life of the parish from 1733, and has a fine woodcut of the first Trinity Church, in Summer Street, opened in 1735, together with an engraving of the Rev. William Hooper, second rector of the parish, the Rev. William Walter, the third rector, and other rectors. The story is carried down to 1869, when the thread is taken up by an Historical sermon preached by Phillips Brooks, followed by Bishop Lawrence on the period of the rectorship of Bishop Manton Eastburn. Later chapters deal with the rectorships of Dr. Winchester Donald, Dr. Alexander Mann and Dr. Henry Knox Sherrill, and the present rector, Dr. Arthur Lee Kinsolv.

ing, the latter of whom writes an interesting forecast of the "Future of Trinity Parish." The book is beautifully printed; fully illustrated, and has an excellent index.

This reviewer lays it down with admiration and regret—admiration for the quality of the work so far as it goes; regret that it does not go further. Trinity Church was intimately associated with the history of the Church in the Colony of Massachusetts and indeed with the history of the American Church in its formative period immediately after the War of the Revolution. A great opportunity was offered to link the parish with the Church in general. This is especially true of the Rev. Samuel Parker, rector of Trinity during the Revolution. Mention is made in passing of the part he played in bringing together divergent elements in the Church at large in that period, but, apparently, no use has been made of the Parker Papers stored in the Diocesan Library in Boston. They are to be published in a later issue of this Magazine. Much more might profitably have been made of the contribution which this rector of Trinity made and which resulted in the adoption of the Constitution and the issue of the first authorized American Book of Common Prayer in 1789. The biography of Parker remains to be written, and when this is done it will add an invaluable chapter to the history of Trinity Parish. On only wishes it might have been incorporated in the present volume.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE DIOCESE OF SOUTHERN OHIO. *By Boyd Vincent, formerly Bishop of Southern Ohio. Morehouse Publishing Company, Wis. A. R. Mowbray & Co., London. 1934. P. 189.*

THE venerable and venerated Boyd Vincent, now eighty-nine years old, has placed the whole Church under obligation by the publication of these charming reminiscences of the Church in Southern Ohio, and not least the random jottings of his own distinguished career. Born in 1845, a Yale man, he was ordained sixty-three years ago and was consecrated Assistant Bishop of Southern Ohio in 1889. Not the least interesting parts of this book are the sketches of the men with whom he has been associated—Bishops Jaggard, William A. Leonard and the greatly beloved Bishop Theodore Irving Reese. The friendship between Bishops Vincent and Reese is beautifully described. They worked, prayed and fished together. The work of Bishop Vincent for bringing about the unity of the Churches finds

due place and there is a graphic picture of a private interview with the Pope who hoped the time would come when the deputation would see the full light and turn their faces back to Rome waiting with open arms to receive them. Our thanks are due to Bishop Vincent for a little book of large interest; as modest as it is alluring.

A SMALL PART. *By the Rt. Rev. John Newton McCormick, D. D., Bishop of Western Michigan. Morehouse Publishing Co., Milwaukee, Wisconsin. 1934. Pp. 165.*

THIS comparatively small but very interesting book is divided into three parts: "Beginnings, Continuings, and Endings." Under the head of Beginnings we have the story of the Bishop's family, his school days and his student life at Johns Hopkins University, together with his enlivening experiences as a Methodist circuit rider in the Southern Methodist Episcopal Church and his subsequent entrance into the ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The second section gives a moving and graphic account of the writer's experiences as a Red Cross worker and a commissioned chaplain in the World War, with illuminating extracts from his diary. Added to this is a chatty account of bishops and other ministers in this Church and the Church of England. The story of an eventful life is told simply and the Bishop's observations on men and things are kindly but shrewd. It is a gook book for the hour and not without value for the days to come.

SERMONS PREACHED AT THE SESQUI-CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF TRINITY CHURCH, BRANFORD, CONNECTICUT, NOVEMBER 25, 1934. *By Rev. Melville K. Bailey, D. D., and Rev. Robert Johnston Plumb.*

SKETCHES of the history of the church in Branford from the first service held in 1748 to the present time. Mention is made of the fact that Bishop Seabury administered confirmation for the last time in his episcopate at Branford. It might be noted that Dr. Howard C. Robbins was Dean, and not canon of the Cathedral of Saint John the Divine.

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